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ABSTRACT

These 15 papers address the creation of second-chance routes for adults; patterns of study finance; experiences and life-studies of adult learners; and an evaluation of the reform of higher education in Sweden. Presentations include "To Put New Wine into Old Bottles: The Swedish Reform of Higher Education as a Modernized Form of University-Extension Movement" (Kenneth Abrahamsson); "The Identity of Municipal Adult Education" (Robert Hoeghielm); "The Assessment of Knowledge and Skills of Adults in Swedish Higher Education" (Ingemar Wedman, Lennart Linell); "Financial Study Assistance for Adults--Is That a Key Issue?" (Olof Lundquist); "Financial Aid and Higher Education" (Allan Svensson); "Some Figures and Comments on Study Assistance in Sweden" (Gabriella Hansson); "Swedish Educational Reforms--Women's Life Stories--What Can They Tell about a Rational Reform Era?" (Inga Elgqvist-Saltzman); "Who Cares about Adult Students in Swedish Higher Education?" (Mona Bessman); "Risk and Renewal in Academia--On the Challenge of Blue- and White-Collar Workers in Higher Education" (Mona Bessman, Jan Holmer); "Recurrent Education and the Occupational Career" (Albert Tuijnman); "Recurrent Education in Sweden--Obsolete Policy Concept or Guideline for the Future?" (Kenneth Abrahamsson, Mats Myrberg, Kjell Rubenson); "Evaluating the Reform of Higher Education in a Regional Context--The View from a Rector's Desk" (Ola Roman); "Corporate Classrooms or Free Academies?--A Look at Future Adult Higher Education in Sweden" (Kenneth Abrahamsson); "Adult and Higher Education in Transition--Some Reflections on Policies, Problems, and Practices" (Kenneth Abrahamsson); and "Some Statistics on Adult Studies and Recurrent Education Patterns in Swedish Post-Compulsory Education" (Kenneth Abrahamsson). (YLB)

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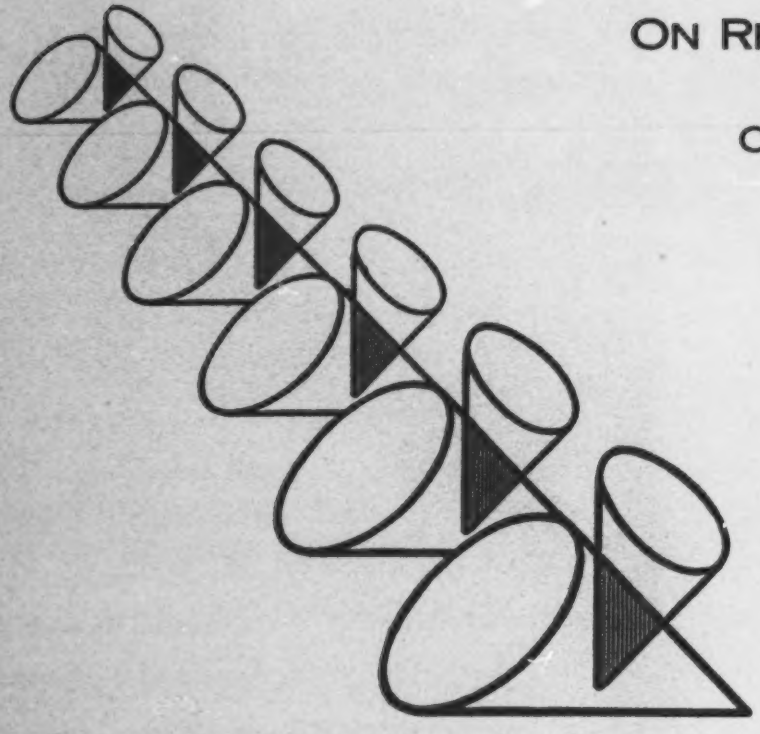
IMPLEMENTING RECURRENT EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

ON REFORM STRATEGIES OF SWEDISH ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION



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SWEDISH NATIONAL BOARD OF EDUCATION

IMPLEMENTING RECURRENT EDUCATION IN SWEDEN:
ON REFORM STRATEGIES OF SWEDISH ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

**A Selection of Papers from the International Conference:
Serving the Adult Learner: New Roles and Changing
Relationships of Adult and Higher Education
held at Hässelby Slott in Stockholm, May 20 -- 22, 1987**

KENNETH ABRAHAMSSON (ED.)

SWEDISH NATIONAL BOARD OF EDUCATION 1988

The ideas and content of this report reflect current research in Sweden and do not necessarily correspond with the NBE s policy on these issues.

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FOREWORD

The role of adults in higher education has been an emerging policy issue the last decade. In May, 1987, a conference took place at Hässelby Castle near Stockholm on the theme: Serving the Adult Learner - New Roles and Changing Relationships of Adult and Higher Education. The conference, organized by SÖ (Swedish National Board of Education), UHÄ (Swedish National Board of Universities and Colleges) together with CERI (Centre for Educational Research and Innovation) at OECD (organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), was based upon a number of national case studies of adult students at various universities and colleges in some of the participating countries. The Swedish study which this author carried out was titled Adult Participation in Swedish Higher Education and was published in the beginning of 1986. The underlying concepts and ideas which formed the basis for the Hässelby conference are presented in the appendix and can be used for continuing discussions.

The preparation of the "May-Day"-seminar on adults in higher education has been a genuine team work. I wish to express my gratitude to the members of the planning group and especially its international members, namely, Dr. Hans G Schütze, OECD-consultant and Ms. Maria Slowey, senior lecturer at New Castle up-on Tyne Polytechnic. Let me finally include Dr. Alan Wagner, OECD who joined the original team and professor Kjell Rubenson, Linköping, Sweden, who almost has taken the role of a part-time Canadian working at the U.B.C. in Vancouver.

After the conference it was considered suitable to publish the gathered material in two distinct parts, due to the quantity of the material to be published and also to the nature of the material itself. Although there was a lot of material concerning Sweden that was presented at the conference, international trends and perspectives were also discussed extensively, especially that which concern the relationship between adult education and post-secondary studies. The general conference report ("ADULTS IN THE ACADEMY", Kjell Rubenson and Maria Slowey, eds), will hopefully be published in the beginning of this fall. The report at hand concerns the Swedish material presented at the conference, i.e. papers on Swedish reforms within both adult education and university education.

Supplementary information has been included in three main areas in order to present a more balanced view of the material as a whole. A short summary of the development of adult education in Sweden from the extramural tradition at the turn of the century to the present day university system has been added to Part I entitled "The Creation of Second Chance Routes for Adults: Origin, Access and Quality". Part II: "Patterns of Study Finance in Swedish Post-Compulsory Education" is taken in its entirety from the reports presented at the conference and has not been supplemented in any way.

Part III: "Experiences and Life Studies of Adults" has been reinforced by a longitudinal perspective. Finally, the last part entitled "Swedish Recurrent Education Towards the Learning Society: Comments on Reform Evaluation and Future Orientation" has been augmented in order to reflect discussions taking place concerning sponsored or commissioned training programs, Swedish renewal funds and also in order to give the reader a view of the debate taking place at present in Sweden concerning corporate classrooms versus free academies.

I have chosen the title IMPLEMENTING RECURRENT EDUCATION IN SWEDEN for this report. My purpose in choosing this title was to describe both the contents and the theme of the report: new conditions within recurrent education. In 1964 Olof Palme, former prime minister of Sweden, described most aptly both the basis and the future objective of the subject of this report.

> The right to choose a certain line of study should not be restricted to a short period in a person's life when he or she is young; it should not be something that one is able to decide once and then never again. This right should also be able to be exercised at later periods when a person gets older and becomes aware of what he or she wants out of life and the new possibilities provided by both society and the labor market in general. If this concept is applied to the whole educational system, in all areas and at all levels, then great strides can be made. The right to choose a line of study when one is young becomes also the right to choose a certain line of work when one gets older - and from a broader point of view this idea reflects a new concept of the role played by schools in modern society.

Almost twenty five years have passed since this statement was made. Although state funds are in general less generously dispensed nowadays, Swedish reforms within the fields of adult education and higher education are despite that fact challenging examples of a project at a national level with the express purpose of making education and knowledge available to individuals during the space of their whole life. Today 50 per cent of all adults in Sweden take part in some form of organized course of study during the year. This is a sure sign that the vision of the future that once was Olof Palme's is now beginning to take shape and form in the day by day activities and working life of people in Sweden.

Stockholm April 1988

Kenneth Abrahamsson
Research secretary

PART ONE

THE CREATION OF SECOND CHANCE ROUTES FOR ADULTS: ORIGIN, ACCESS AND QUALITY

* To Put New Wine into Old Bottles. The Swedish Reform of Higher Education as a Modernized Form of University-Extension Movement.
  By Kenneth Abrahamsson

* The Identity of Municipal Adult Education.
  By Robert Höghielm

* The Assessment of Knowledge and Skills of Adults in Swedish Higher Education.
  By Ingemar Wedman and Lennart Linell

TO PUT NEW WINE INTO OLD BOTTLES
THE SWEDISH REFORM OF HIGHER EDUCATION AS A MODERNIZED FORM OF UNIVERSITY-EXTENSION MOVEMENT

By Kenneth Abrahamsson
Swedish National Board of Education

1 AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE[1)]

The general theme of our seminar was:

> Serving the adult learner. New roles and changing relationships between adult and higher education.

As an introductory remark to our first conference report, it might be suitable to ask the following question:

> Which were the old roles and relationships between universities and colleges on the one hand and popular adult education on the other?

The objective of opening up the academies of higher learning to the people is not a new one.

The idea of broadening admissions to higher education and opening the gates of the university to so-called new groups is rooted in the extramural educational tradition which developed in England during the second half of the nineteenth century. In "The Beginning of English University Adult Education. Policy and Problems" Jepson (1973) describes the Oxford and Cambridge University Extension Lecture Movements. Demands have been made on several occasions during the first half of the nineteenth century for a modernization and social adjustment of studies at Oxford and Cambridge. These demands met with little response from the academic community, and Royal Commissions were appointed in 1850 to carry out enquiries and make recommendations concerning the future development of the two universities.

Also in 1850 William Sewell, Fellow and Senior Tutor of Exeter College, sent the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University a memorandum entitled Suggestions on University Extension. These proposals were later discussed by the Oxford Commission, which was unenthusiastic and rejected the scheme which Sewell had drawn up. Looking back, it is particularly interesting to see how the Oxford Commission saw in the idea of extramural studies a threat to the fundamental university principles of knowledge of the highest class, i.e. the notion of high culture.

> 'What is needed is to make the University a great seat of learning; to bring together the ablest Instructors and the ablest Students; to enable many who could not otherwise become Members of the University to avail themselves of the advantages attached to its training and society; to cause the rewards and stimulants of its endowments to bear on the largest possible number of minds - not to multiply places in which Teachers inferior in learning and capacity or inferior from the

1) This chapter is a shortened and somewhat modified version of the paper From Extramural Studies to an Integrated System of Higher Education -the Adult Student in Retrospect. It is not a result of primary research. It s objective is rather to outline some general policy issues.

necessity of attempting too many subjects, would train inferior Students. What is needed is to place the best education within the reach of all qualified to receive it; not to offer some solace to those who are excluded. If the means of the University were unbounded, its superfluities might possibly be employed on the general purposes of education throughout the country; but such a scheme should not be entertained till it has been shown that there is no demand for men and for money in the university itself.'

Jepson (1973, p. 19)

Jepson's study adduces a great deal more evidence to show that the debate on the early University Extension movement resembles a recurrent conference topic of our own time, "adult students in universities and colleges". Efforts to broaden university admissions were in many cases based on arguments concerning the growing participation of the working classes in science and culture. In practice, then as now, apart from businessmen the participants consisted to a great extent of people with middle-class backgrounds, often women connected with the teaching profession (ibid. p. 127). The opening of the universities also came to be utilized by young students in order to supplement unsatisfactory secondary or upper secondary education.

Still another topical subject reflected by Jepson's study is the question of the scope and direction of the programme of studies. One manifestation of the idea of combining University Extension with high educational quality was the proposal of about three years' continuous studies, though this is not to say that they were opposed to shorter courses:

'In fact it would appear that they considered them to be a necessary feature of the work - necessary in the first place because they believed it both proper and desirable for the universities to make some provision for those people who did not wish to engage in prolonged study but who were nevertheless interested in the humane subjects; necessary, in the second place, in order to stimulate the demand for more systematic study. But for the early Extension leaders the ideal was that these short courses should be both subordinate and normally preparatory to those of a more thorough and systematic character. When in practice this was not achieved, when the short courses were predominant and the vast majority of them in no real sense preparatory, there was a keen sense of dissatisfaction, and the position was usually explained in terms of financial necessity rather than of deliberate policy.'

Jepson (1973) pp. 336-367.

The expectations entertained concerning the universities were by no means unambiguous. The basic idea of taking higher education to those who have no opportunity of coming to the university resulted in the 19th century University Extension movement in England being regarded as "something of a Jack of all trades, arising out of, trying to supplement, the inadequate provision of university, secondary and adult education" (ibid. p. 339). This historic footnote might be taken as a point of departure for outlining some Swedish developments in this field.

In a contemporary context, England chose to relieve the pressure on the traditional universities by creating the Open University. Sweden, as is well-known, has followed a different path. In the integrated system of higher education, the university extension principle has been realized to a far greater extent than the spokesmen of tradition could ever have imagined. The transformation of the extramural tradition into an essentially open higher education system, with young and old following the same programme of studies and the same courses, puts the accessibility of

knowledge in the centre. The often praiseworthy policy aim of conveying science and culture to a wider general public, however, cannot be analysed without taking the content and social values of knowledge into consideration.

The purpose of this essay is to trace certain contours of the historical development of the Swedish extramural tradition, so as to provide a foundation for today's discussion of the open higher education system. The analytical focus is on the following questions. What are the ideological and philosophical roots of the extramural tradition? To which groups has extramural education been addressed? What ideological and organizational changes do we encounter in the development of the tradition? What balance exists today between formal higher education and the living educational tradition at post-secondary level based on the foundation of free popular education? And last but not least, will the reform of higher education and the idea of an integrated higher education system lead to the incorporation of the extramural tradition within the Swedish system of higher education?

2 AN OUTLINE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SWEDEN

The Early English Influence

Swedish developments have to some extent been influenced by the ideas in England. The university circles in Sweden came to be regarded by the 1920 Popular Education Commission as a natural feature in the development of Swedish popular education. These circles were modelled on the tutorial classes which had already been developed in 1907 at a meeting of representatives of Oxford University and the Workers' Educational Association (WEA). Even before this there had been several initiatives aimed at bringing science and culture to the working classes. Contacts between about 1880 and 1910 were to a great extent dominated by efforts to establish links between students and workers. The educational euphoria then prevailing in Swedish society resulted in the formation of the Association of Students and Workers, the organization of various summer courses, the foundation of lecture associations and so on. Events in Lund were subject to Danish as well as English influences.

There was also a great deal of activity at the University of Uppsala, very much influenced by England. These ideas left their mark on the programmes drawn up for the Heimdal and Verdandi student associations at the turn of the century. Many of these initiatives had an idealistic bias, in that science and culture were hopefully regarded a bulwark against the rapidly expanding and increasingly militant labour movement. The following extract from Article 1 of the Statutes of the Association of Students and Workers, founded in 1886, bears witness to this:

> "The association of Students and Workers feels that brotherly co-operation inspired by love is the only foundation on which the future can be built, and that any restriction imposed by society on the liberty of the individual and not necessarily prompted by such co-operation is unnatural. The Association is formly convinced of the ennobling influence of different social classes upon each other when they meet together in brotherhood. Accordingly, the Association wishes, openly and honestly and with all means at its disposal, to work for the abolition of class prejudice and the elimination of class distinctions, and to replace them with true and complete brotherhood."

Just as in England, these educational ideas can be traced back to the mid-19th century. Educational circles open to the middle classes, craftsmen and artisans had already been started in the 1840s on the initiative of Dr Johan Ellmin (Landelius, 1936). This educational effort, too, had a clear ideological foundation. The aim was to raise the worker out of his ignorance and social misery, thus making him better

equipped for elevated social intercourse. In practice, this meant a bid to use workers' education in bridging the class gaps, and thus subduing or counteracting the social unrest that was spreading throughout Europe. The leading personalities of this educational movement were often moved by powerful social pathos and a determination to improve conditions for the underprivileged - workers, servants and landless persons. These improvements, however, were to be brought about within the framework of established society, and with the due consideration this implied for the Christian message, King and Country. The educational circles had a clear social-liberal and philanthropic bias, but their proceedings also included discussions concerning the idea of a people's university.

The Workers' Institutes and the Question of Bread or Education

One of the more interesting events in the evolution of the extramural tradition occurred in 1880, when Anton Nyström, a Stockholm doctor and chairman of the Positivist Society, launched the idea of the Stockholm Workers' Institute, the purpose of which was "to provide scientific, humanistic and aesthetic schooling for workers and others, both men and women, who had been denied education during their formative years". Nyström was a dedicated idealist and lost no opportunity of putting Comte's ideas of a scientific education of the people into practice in Sweden. At the time his proposal caused quite a sensation and was criticized from both right and left. In conservative and ecclesiastical circles, Nyström was regarded as Antichrist and a seducer of the people. One of the pioneers of Swedish social democracy, August Palm, vituperated against Nyström under the slogan "Bread before culture". Nyström's impassioned scientific approach is reflected by the following quotation from the early 1880s:

> "No class must be without education. The consequences of the widest possible propagation of scientific culture can be nothing but felicitous, for science, properly understood and assimilated, is synonymous with truth and justice. It is light, joy, security and calm, it constitutes one of the foundations of the maintenance and development of our societies."
>
> (Quoted from Leander (1980) p. 83.)

The polemics between Nyström and Palm shed an interesting historical light on the role of science in the social and political emancipation of the working classes. To Palm, the necessary social revolution was a precondition of culture - "first bread, then culture" - while Nyström opposed both socialism and marxism and regarded the increase of knowledge as the principal means of emancipation for the working class. Later on, Nyström's educational ideals also came to be supported by certain representatives of the emergent labour movement. Hjalmar Branting, one of the leading Social Democrats in the beginning of the new centrury, for example, referred to the emphasis placed by the labour movement on solidarity, equality and security as a social ideal morally superior to that of the bourgeoise (Gustavsson, Rydqvist and Lundgren, 1979).

The Worker's College and Progressive Educational Perspectives

Ideas concerning scientific knowledge as a factor in social transformation were later enlarged on by another social Democrat, Richard Sandler, who in 1907 called for the foundation of a workers' college in Sweden. Sandler was personally associated with popular education, his father being the Principal of Hola folk high school in the north of Sweden. This made it natural for Richard Sandler himself to plead vigorously for the cause of popular education. Nor did he see any contradiction between necessary social change and broader popular education, as witness the following excerpt from a speech he made in 1907:

> "The society of the future cannot be founded solely on a technically consummate economic system. It must also be founded on highly cultivated people. An elevation of the spiritual level of the average person is essential for the realization of our social ideals. We do not demand ideal people. But it is beyond all doubt that a society based on the broadest democratic foundations demands better human material than we have today. When the functions of society are broadened, this naturally enlarges the competence required of the members of society. The socialist state, therefore, must be vitally interested in popular education in a completely different manner from its capitalist counterpart. And the work of popular education is to be regarded as no less an important task of socialism than politics or trade unionism."
>
> Sandler (1937) pp. 9-10.

Sandler was also vigorous in demanding improvements of public libraries and the organization of study circles, which had undergone a revival at the turn of the century. His political vantage point also made it natural to stress the importance of science in the service of the working population. The idea of the workers' college was one of the main ingredients of socialistically motivated popular education. "To it would be attached scientifically trained men who would be given the opportunity of serving the labour movement by continuing their scientific research and by raising an elite troop of well-educated young persons through their teaching activities." (Ibid., p. 25).

Brunnsvik folk high school, later to become the kingpin of educational activities within the Swedish labour movement, was founded that very same year. Brunnsvik did not have a distinct ideological identity to begin with, and one of its founder members, Karl-Erik Forsslund, combined provincial romanticism with positive natural science in the spirit of the Enlightenment. When the LO school was affiliated to it at the end of the 1920's, Brunnsvik became more and more the university of the labour movement, although this did not imply the full realization of the idea of a workers' college. It should also be made clear that at, the turn of the century, there were several ideas of the urban workers' institutes being made to serve the same purpose as folk high schools for rural youth.

Extramural University Departments

University contacts with the working population at the turn of the century were not only influenced by initiatives from the student associations. A Central Bureau for popular lectures was set up in Lund in 1898, and similar agencies were organized later in Uppsala, Gothenburg and Stockholm. Summer courses were organized on a widespread scale between 1893 and 1914. This period also witnessed discussions on the idea of a popular university as an alternative to the traditional university structure. The University-extention movement had strong support from some professors and students. An Association of the University for the People (Folkuniversitetet) was founded in 1917. The idea of academics and the educationally interested general public being able to meet for lectures and seminars at provincial centres was never translated into practice. We must not forget, however, that the universities of Stockholm and Gothenburg both started with "freely organized scientific lecturing activities aimed at promoting general civic education" (Lindberger, 1949). Interest in summer courses declined during the 1920s partly because a majority of the participants - active teachers - were able to make alternative in-service training arrangements.

State involvement in extramural activities increased during the 1920s when the 1920 Popular Education Commission raised the question of "the use of university institutions in the service of popular education". In its report, this Commission considered the establishment at universities of a popular educa-

tion department, in other words an extramural department of the kind often to be found at English universities and North American universities and colleges. The task of the popular education department was to act as a link between university and popular education agencies. In this way, universities could legitimately engage in popular education.

These activities were mainly to comprise the arrangement of summer courses, field trips, university circles and popular scientific lectures, as well as a certain amount of in-house training for teachers and directors of studies. No formal policy decision was made concerning the establishment of such popular education departments, but one important result of the Commission's work was the establishment of extramural university circles, which became eligible for State grants from 1924/25 onwards. These circles, however, were comparatively few in number - about ten per annum during the late 1920s - and they remained so until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, when the grants were discontinued. In 1947 at the instance of the 1944 Popular Education Commission and its suggestions for new state support, the activities soon reverted to their pre-war level.

External university and college activities were also organized in other forms. The unemployment of the 1930s prompted Stockholm College to organize courses for the unemployed. The teachers were young students and lessons took the form of study circles. More than 700 unemployed took part in these educational activities in Stockholm alone. When unemployment declined in 1934/35, the number of students did the same. For various reasons, however, those responsible wanted to organize these courses on a permanent footing. A special course for prospective directors of studies, mostly young academics, was introduced and courses were transferred to a separate organization. Some glimpse of these activities is afforded by the following excerpts from the 1937 report:

> "These courses are independently organized within the framework of voluntary popular education and are based on the participants' and leaders' need of each other. Participants in study circles have tended more and more to be recruited among salaried workers, clerical employees and to some extent domestic servants wishing to improve their knowledge, particularly their knowledge of modern languages, at moderate expense. The leaders of the study circles are students who for their future teaching activity are in need of teaching practice which will count as a qualification when they apply for their probationary year's service."
>
> From Lindberger (1949), p. 272.

Similar courses resulted from academic initiatives in the other university cities. In this way, the foundations of the co-ordination of extramural activities was effected in 1942 through the foundation of a national and state-independent co-ordinating board for extramural university circles (Folkuniversitetet). This Folk University was reconstituted as an adult education association in 1947 so as to qualify for the newly established system of State grants.

Popular Adacemic Education at the Crossroads

Apart from university circles and extramural courses, lectures were a very important element of the extramural tradition during the inter-war years. The post-war era saw a relatively vigorous debate concerning the interaction of universities and popular education. In a book on the theme "Adult education and popular education - an academic perspective" (Nerman ed., 1955), part of this discussion is reflected within the context of the Folk University, which like other educational agencies had to build bridges between science and the broader general public. In part, the discussion is concerned with

the existence of an antithesis between facts and popular education, democracy and authority. Furthermore, it raises the questions whether science can and should be popularized, and whether there is an antithesis between circles led by teachers and circles controlled by their participants;

> "are the participants to come to the study circle to be supplied with knowledge from outside, or are they to help one another to acquire or even provide one another with this knowledge - is the important thing, quite simply, the fact of people sitting together in the first place?" (Ibid, p. 139).

The questions which Nerman asked about the educational ideal of the extramural circles at the beginning of the fifties are in some essential respects problems which to a great extent dominated the debate of the sixties and seventies concerning the distinctive character of adult studies in Sweden. The increasing emphasis placed on the importance of adult students' own experience, situation and needs has in some ways resulted in a trivialization of the traditional educational ideal of ennobling man and raising him from nature to culture.

On the organizational plane, another important change took place in 1963, when new rules were issued concerning university circles and the adult education associations acquired added responsibility for the administration of courses. The 1960s saw a heavy expansion in this quarter, whith the number of university circles multiplying several times over. The extramural tradition of the adult education associations came to be principally administered by two organizations, viz. the Folk University and TBV (the Salaried Employees' Educational Association). Efforts by the ABF (Workers' Educational Association) in this respect were very limited. The content of activities was overwhelmingly dominated by vocational education (Sandberg, (1979). The commonest subjects were business economics; pedagogics, English, sociology, mathematics, economics, psychology and political science.

The traditional idealistic impress of popular education was to a great extent lacking in the fixed-syllabus university circles. Most of the students were out to pass exams and take degrees, which meant that they had to enrol at a university and be examined by a qualified university teacher, in most cases the person by whom they themselves had been taught. In this way a "People's University" developed to one side of the national system of universities and colleges, and this made it necessary to distinguish between fixed-syllabus and non-curricular university circles. A large proportion of the university circles organized by the adult education associations were of the latter kind, i.e. not geared to university and college syllabi.

At this time, NBE (National Board of Education) regulations stipulated that university circles must "be conducted on essentially the same level as in universities and colleges. On the other hand they need not adhere to the subjects or syllabi included in instruction at universities and colleges." The regulations also stipulate special qualifications for the teacher; in principle these are the same as for other post-secondary teachers. How were the extramural university circles affected by the 1977 reform of higher education? The statistics show a gradual decline during the 1970s, beginning well before 1977. On the other hand the non-curricular university circles rose steeply throughout the 70s. This increase, however, came to an abrupt halt in the 1981/82 fiscal year, when the total number of university circles fell from 3.656 in 1980/81 to 1.155. The explanation is simple. As from 1st July 1981, new regulations have applied concerning State grants to university circles, whereby reduced grants are made towards circles held less than 30 km away from university and college localities. In some cases this rule may have meant adult education associations receiving

smaller grants for a circle classified as a university circle than for an ordinary study circle. In its final report, the latest Popular Education Commission (SOU 1979:85) considered the idea of abolishing university circles, but the Government and Riksdag decided to retain them. Today university circles still exist but due to the fact that they get the same state grants as ordinary study circles, few study associations give priority to this field. The only "ear-marked" grant covers travelling expenses for university circle leaders outside the university area.

Thus, the "free" university circles are in the process of being converted into ordinary study circles, for purely financial reasons.

The Emergence of the New Higher Education System

The reason for this development is relatively simple. After 1945, the idea of taking higher education to those groups who had not had the opportunity of going to university was not primarily reflected by the development of the extramural educational tradition. Already in the late 1940s, the reform of higher education was marked by a bid to enlarge its social base. This provided fertile soil for the evolution of a national higher education policy which also provided scope for the needs of the adult population where higher education was concerned. To begin with, this policy followed two directions.

Firstly, emphasis was laid on the importance of gradually changing the rules of exemption governing admission to higher education. Thus in the 1940s students did not have to obtain a complete upper secondary school leaving certificate in order to gain admission to the School of Social Work and Public Administration, where academic subject studies were based on the idea of an integrated programme. The scheme of exemptions was gradually enlarged and then reorganized in 1969 as an experimental scheme of broader admissions (the 25:5 scheme) and given new eligibility regulations in 1977.

Secondly, reference was made to the importance of supplementary opportunities for adult students with a view to higher education. The national schools for adults were founded in the 1950s, and the supplementary programme culminated at the end of the 1960s, with the foundation of a separate educational system, the municipal adult education, which today is one of the most important access routes to higher education parallel to upper secondary school and folk high school. The same period witnessed a heavy expansion of higher education through the establishment of new universities and affiliated universities, the latter being converted into independent colleges as part of the 1977 reform of higher education.

At the beginning of the 1970s the then Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities (UKÄ) instigated an enquiry to chart extramural courses and to draw up recommendations concerning the future development of these activities. At the same time there was a growth in the volume of external university education, i.e. courses held outside the university and college localities. In addition, work began on renewing the repertoire of courses within the higher education system, above all by introducing short-cycle vocational courses.

Broader admissions, the new organization of studies into general study programmes and separate courses, as well as the use of new forms of distribution such as distance teaching, together with the changes mentioned above, represented an effort by Swedish higher education to live up to the aim of taking higher education to the people. Unlike many other countries, however, Sweden did not choose to establish special administrative agencies or institutions for adult students. The idea of a Swedish Open University on English lines was also rejected. Distance teaching was one of the three experiments initiated by the U 68 Commission as a means of distributing higher education. The other two were decentralized university courses - referred to above as

external university education - and an experimental scheme of higher vocational education for practising technicians with substantial vocational experience.

These three types of activity are now regular ingredients of the working methods of the higher education system of 1977. In the new, integrated higher education system, all groups are means in principle to be equally welcome - young and old, economically active persons and home-makers, men and women, full-time and part-time students, rich and poor, local residents and persons living at a distance. The student population is formally, though perhaps not always really united by having to meet the general conditions of eligibility (upper secondary school studies, folk high school studies or job experience) and the specific qualifications defined for specific courses and programmes.

As regards organizational differentiation within the integrated higher education system, the Riksdag decided in 1975 to arrange programmes of studies in terms of occupational fields instead of the traditional faculties and disciplines. Within the framework of each sector or occupational field (techology, economics and administration, nursing and care, education and information and culture), the distinction between general programmes of studies and separate courses constitutes a fundamental characteristic of the present organization of studies in Sweden. Formally speaking, it is true, there are both local and individual programmes of studies, but they are comparatively few in practice. One of the basic ideas of the reform was for these programmes to provide more basic education, mainly for young students, while the separate courses were to be available for the subsequent and further training of persons already vocationally active.

The programme idea was really nothing new. Integrated programme of studies, otherwise known as core curricula, have existed for a long time in many professional forms of higher education, such as degree engineering studies, medical studies and the training of dentists. It was mainly within the former faculties of humanities and natural sciences, i.e. the market for free academic studies, that reorganization based on the principle of occupational fields and fixed-curriculum studies represented innovation, although it had already been tested on a minor scale in the 1969 scheme of studies.

The numbers of adult students entering higher education have exceeded all previous expectations. Today adult students, i.e. those aged 25 or over, constitute a majority of the student population of the Swedish higher education system. This heavy influx is not confined to the separate courses, although they have attracted large groups of vocationally active adults; it also includes the more long-term programmes of studies. (Abrahamsson, 1986).

3 HIGHER EDUCATION AS A PART OF ADULT EDUCATION - SOME CURRENT SWEDISH PROBLEMS

One excessively common assumption in discussions of adult students at universities and colleges is the question of whether course content and pedagogics are adapted to the needs and aptitudes of the students. This is in many cases a praiseworthy, not to say necessary approach, but it can also lead to oversimplified conclusions. Any such discussion concerning educational adjustment must take into consideration the values to be safeguarded (or changed) and the real feasibility of such changes.

The adjustment of higher education to adult students is in fact a question of basic educational and cultural ideals, of the organization of studies, and of programme structure, and only in the second instance does it concern the choice of teaching methods and social or educational supportive measures. Our ideas concerning adult students at university and college are easily governed by prototype adults, a clearly definable group with specific, well-articulated motives, but with limited educa-

tional routine and an inflexible social situation. The following excerpt from a Swedish report in 1952 concerning wider admissions to higher studies reflects an attitude of this kind, and one which is no doubt perpetuated in many people's minds.

> "A person not embarking on academic studies until he has attained maturity has great difficulties to cope with unless he has attended upper secondary school and matriculated in his formative years. The road to higher studies is less smooth for the adult than it is for younger persons. The need to earn one's livelihood at the same time can result in studies having to be pursued partly or wholly during the evenings or other leisure hours. Educational activity in such conditions is fatiguing and involves the neglect of personal interests and social relations. The lack of teaching adapted to suit adults is a source of difficulty. The feeling of uncertainty is a great drawback to most people. The individual finds it hard to assess his own aptitudes, he does not know how to arrange his preparatory studies, he is uncertain whether he will even be admitted to the studies of his choice. Economic factors are a major obstacle. During the preparatory phase, the individual is forced to a greater or lesser extent to accept a loss of earnings. As a rule he also has to accept additional expenditure on the instruction he needs."
>
> (SOU 1952:29 Wider admission to higher studies, p. 192.)

But the relationship of the higher education system to adult students is not confined to didactic or pedagogical questions. In order to understand the educational situation of the individual better, we also have to form a view of the way in which higher education functions as part of adult education.

The Need for Better System Knowledge and Overview

Higher education today can be viewed as part of a more comprehensive system of adult and recurrent education. In a broader context of this kind it is becoming more and more necessary to develop our knowledge concerning the interrelatedness of the various subsystems.

Figure 1. Explanatory sketch of a system model of Swedish higher education as a part of adult education (The size of the clouds is not corresponding to its actual volume).

This model shows that higher education is directly or indirectly related to nearly every form of adult education in Sweden. The instrumentally most pronounced relationship is to municipal adult education, one of the tasks of which is to provide adults with the prior knowledge and confidence they need for further studies. Despite its ideological premises and its essential role in popular education, folk high school has also become an important route to further post-secondary studies.

We have already noted how the extramural tradition created close links between universities and colleges on the one hand and adult education associations and popular educational agencies on the other. During the post-war era the university circle came to play a central part here, culminating in the 1960s when demand for extramural higher education rose almost exponentially. One interesting feature of developments in the 1970s is that co-operation between higher education and trade union agencies generated short-cycle courses of various kinds. Two of the commonest of these courses were labour legislation and the occupational environment. At Lund University efforts were also made to develop pedagogics in these joint courses. Instead of tying in with the traditional university circle or study circle, they coined the expression "research circle".

The part of adult education bearing the least pronounced relation to higher education is labour market training. Labour market training is usually reserved for people who are unemployed or in danger of unemployment. It used to focus more on direct retraining, but during the 70s it was expanded to include general subjects as well. Personnel training and personnel development in employment are of course a very important part of adult education and recurrent education. Goals, content and forms vary considerably, however, from one organization or field to another. Participation in internal training and development at work can often yield experience which is useful in higher education.

Corporate classrooms and other forms of in-service training are, as shown in next chapter, the most expansive part of Swedish adult education in the Eighties. One of the main reasons for crediting job experience in connection with higher education admissions was in fact that in many cases it conferred genuine competence for further studies.

A system model of the kind presented above is, of course, highly schematic and generalized, but it should be a serviceable point of departure for the formulation of some general questions concerning the role of higher education in adult and recurrent education.

The Boundary Between Higher Education and Popular Education

One important line of demarcation between higher education and popular education is that the former is meant to convey knowledge and competence on the scientific basis while the latter is ment to contribute towards general and civic education. In practice, however, certain adult education associations have also played a part in the formal, qualifying context during the post-war era, because in some cases it has been possible for students to be examined by an academic teacher and thus obtain formal qualifications. This observation applies of course to extramural courses at post-secondary level. A major part of general or specific study circles run by the adult education associations are dominated on the whole by the ideological traditions and organizational identity of the associations themselves. Because some of the other forms of education constitute access routes to higher education, the competence requirements of higher education will to a greater or lesser extent have direct repercussions on them.

Today relatively little is known about this influence, apart from surveys of educational choices and study flows. What happens, for example, to trade

unionists and politically active persons who take separate courses in order to acquire knowledge which they can use within their movements? Do they return with greater political and social knowledge or do they risk being integrated in more career-oriented and competence-related study routes? How are the educational choices of adults influenced by the open system of higher education? Do people choose higher education in preference to other types of education because certain sectors are relatively easy to get into, even if wider studies in, say, municipal adult education would be advisable?

How does municipal adult education actually work as a source of competence and preparation for higher education? The possibility of leaving upper secondary school prematurely in the final grade and returning after three years or so to make a special study of certain subjects in municipal adult education may perhaps confer a different kind of competence from the uninterrupted completion of upper secondary schooling. There are many problems here concerning the relationships between the various systems.

Research Circles or Worker's College?

Efforts to develop higher education courses for active unionists and for mass movements can be taken as an example here. Although these courses exist only on a limited scale, they are of great interest in terms of principle when discussing the lines of demarcation between the tasks of higher education and, on the other hand, the self-appointed tasks of popular education and the trade union organizations. What should be the relationship between higher education and its courses to the training which trade union organizations provide for their members? Not surprisingly, this question has cropped up in efforts to survey the repertoire of specialized courses for active trade unionists in various places in Sweden (Eriksson & Holmer, 1982).

Would it be a good solution for higher education courses to be regarded as "extension bricks" (albeit at a higher level of abstraction) for the modular systems of the trade union organizations themselves? Or should the traditional academic idea of critical thinking and independence of direct societal interests also be asserted where these courses are concerned? Of course, one need not go to the extent of asserting the traditional British academic ideal of the notion of high culture. It is sufficient to point out the tenets of the Swedish Higher Education Act concerning scientific foundations and critical ability.

The idea of research circles developed in the late Seventies in the AHUF experiment (AHUF=the Labour Movement Group for Higher Education and Research, Lund) contrasts with the idea of higher educations courses as adapted extension bricks. It also conflicts with the idea of a workers' college or the thesis of science in the service of the people as developed by Richard Sandler at the beginning of this century. Today the idea of a workers' college has not got a strong support. On the other hand, the two big union confederations, LO and TCO, have comprehensive educational activities of their own and several schools of their own, and they have also become more closely involved in research and development work concerning educational matters and such broader aspects as the occupational environment and labour legislation.

The question of the conditions of partialized knowledge has been discussed, in the latter-day Sandlerian spirit, by Sandberg, Å (1979), who has pleaded for the idea of scientific knowledge for the working collective, a kind of working life science instead of social management. The idea of a different sort of knowledge for the labour movement, and different not mainly in the sense of being popularized easily accessible, pedagogically adapted, etc but in the very sense of also supporting the party concerned, is of course a tremendous challenge, not to say a

threat, to the traditional academic ideals.

The Value Structure of Higher Education - System and Surroundings

In analysing the role of higher education as a part of adult education, we have to study the way in which the links with adult education and working life affect the value structure of higher education. How is it possible in an open higher education system to preserve the good academic values of critical appraisal, scientific foundations and good subject knowledge while at the same time meeting the demands of the community for useful and serviceable knowledge? What opportunities do adult students have of proceeding from specialized courses to more long-term programmes of studies or even to research training? What is the true role of research training in a system of recurrent training? Does the admission of growing numbers of mature and vocationally active persons to research training amount to a threat or a challenge? Is research training vocational or general education? How will vocationally experienced research students influence the future cognitive image of research, for better or worse, through their selection of problems? In this context, it is interesting to observe that the percentage of new graduate students above 35 years of age has doubled during the reform period (from 25 per cent to 50 per cent).

4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING QUESTIONS

It is not easy to sum up in a few words the developments which have taken place in Sweden during the present century as regards adult students and higher education. Research in this field is very limited at present. A bird's eye view, however, makes it possible to focus on some issues followed by concluding questions.

Perhaps it is too speculative to speak in terms of an encounter between a popular educational tradition and a State-controlled educational tradition in the development of extramural activities. If such a point of intersection does exist, it came presumably at the turn of the 50s and 60s. Developments since then have been very much dominated by the rapid growth and geographical expansion of the formal education system. Once State higher education became available in more and more localities throughout the country, the expectations entertained concerning the adult education associations were no longer the same as previously.

Now that the State, in the present spirit of economization, is seeking to tie down single-subject courses to more practically useful fields, the content of the short-cycle courses is very liable to be developed into vocational knowledge, albeit scientifically based. Since the resources allotted to popular education and adult education associations are being cut down at the same time, a vacuum is being created in the further educational function of universities and colleges in the community. This background makes it seem increasingly necessary to analyse more clearly the division of labour and the distinction of identities between higher education, popular education and other educational agencies in Swedish society.

Looking back, it is also interesting to study shifts in the cultural and educational ideals of the extramural tradition. The early objectives were sustained by manifest ideological contradictions, as expressed, for example, in the question of bread or culture in connection with the foundation of the workers' institutes. The student associations also had a distinct ideological profile, their aim being to abolish class conflicts in contemporary society. The idea of workers' college raised the question of the partialized science in the service of the working people, as opposed to Nyström's positivist idea of scientifically educating citizens and thus making both religion and ideology superfluous.

The broader popular educational idea of spreading science to a wider general

public survived in lecturing activities, while summer courses and university circles came to be increasingly influenced by vocational motives, a tendency which was accentuated by the introduction of single-subject courses in the new higher education system. This change, however, is not altogether unambiguous. In recent years, popular science has aroused renewed interest, as has the value of professional scientific journalism.

Some Concluding Questions

The purpose of this essay has been to provide a general picture of adult students at universities and colleges in Sweden during the 20th century. During the initial phase, a task of this kind clearly requires a relatively broad approach, in which the lines of development are drawn together by means of isolated and sometimes anecdotal quotations and episodes. Because of its premises, this essay has also been preoccupied with what I have called the extramural tradition. The more fundamental problems, however, are created at the very meeting point between the formally qualifying and popular educational functions of the higher education system. One of the central problems in the political idea of developing a system of recurrent education during the 70s concerned the possiblilities of achieving more co-ordinated planning between different forms of education.

One question to be tackled by the educational policy-makers of the 80s concerns the feasibility in a more or less integrated system of asserting different knowledge traditions and the intrinsic value and necessary identity of value structures. An approach of this kind raises several problems of balance in educational planning, such as the balance between general education and vocational education, between technical subjects and the humanities, between formal education and civic education, between integrated programmes of studies and more short-term, individually tailored study routes. The questions asked below are only a few of many conceivable examples. We hope that they are relevant to Swedish conditions. Fortunately it will be for the readers and not for us to decide whether these questions are typically Swedish or whether they are also applicable in an international context.

1. What is the appropriate division of labour between State-financed higher education, free and voluntary popular education and other communal agencies when it comes to bringing higher education to adult students? Should the State system of higher education confine itself, where adult students are concerned, to vocationally oriented, vocationally preparatory and formally qualifying education, leaving popular education to take charge of broader social, humanistic or civic education? Or should the State system of higher education primarily be concerned with critical training and the autonomy of science?

2. What organizational models are serviceable in different national, economic and cultural contexts? What are the advantages and disadvantages of allowing adult students to form a group within an integrated higher education system, instead of creating special extramural departments?

3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of developing integrated programmes of studies for vocationally experienced adult students, as compared with individually adapted and, in some cases, abbreviated courses of studies? Should the studies undertaken by adults be viewed as part of a system of recurrent education or of further social, cultural and civic education?

In the introduction to this essay we referred to developments in the late 19th century. What, then, could be more suitable than to round off by quoting one of the leading figures of the Swedish extramural tradition, the Uppsala professor Harald Hjärne who

concluded the first summer course, in August 1893, in the following words:

> "We do not belong to a community of monks or patented artificers labouring behind locked doors in secret chambers with abstruse things and tools, perhaps with spiritual explosives of a perilous nature which will not tolerate being exposed to daylight or being put into every man's hands. Even in the everyday run of things, during the terms of the statutory academic year, our lecture rooms are wide open to anybody caring to enter, whether or not he has duly matriculated."

(Quoted from Leander (1978) p. 270.)

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THE IDENTITY OF MUNICIPAL ADULT EDUCATION

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BACKGROUND

Municipal adult education (KOMVUX) is a form of education which came late in Sweden (1967) and has expanded rapidly. In 1964 there were about 10.000 students attending what were known as evening schools for adults at upper secondary level (they could also be labelled evening high schools; the precursors of komvux), not including vocational school students. By 1974 the number of students taking corresponding komvux courses had risen to 75.000, and the komvux population remained more or less constant at this level throughout the 1970s. These figures refer to students at elementary and upper secondary school levels (the latter comprising 3- and 4-year lines of study). The expansion was made possible by a deliberate definition of priorities in adult education policy.

THE IDEALS

The teaching ideals prescribed in komvux have a great deal in common with the andragogical teaching ideals which Malcolm Knowles, among others, claims to be characteristic of all adult teaching (Knowles, 1973). The andragogical teaching ideals are commonly taken to comprise the following:

* Teaching must emanate from the participants' experience of life.
* Teaching must develop the individual socially.
* Teaching must be problem-orientated.
* The techniques used must be based on an interchange of experience.
* The participants must exert definite influence on the planning of the course and the conduct of teaching.
* Evaluation must comprise a mutual (teacher-participant) measurement of course content and planning.

These andragogical ideals are reflected by a Government Bill introduced in 1970 (Prop. 1970:35), which refers to them as the most appropriate ideals for the teaching of adults. The same Bill also describes the working approach of popular education (especially as represented by study circle leaders) as the most suitable for poorly educated persons. A short summary will now be given of the findings on which the above conclusions are based.

THE GROWTH OF KOMVUX

Credential adult education was mainly investigated by three Government Commissions, viz the 1959 Student Social Welfare Commission, the 1960 Upper Secondary Schools Commission and the 1963 Vocational Education Commission.

The dilemma of the new komvux system was that, with 30-70 per cent less teaching time that allotted to youth education, it was expected to provide credential education for all comers and, after 1970, primarily for the poorly educated and socially disadvantaged. Komvux was modelled on its precursors,

the evening high schools, But the latter had catered for the "cream" of the adult talent reserve, using an organization rooted in popular and higher education. The new komvux, by contrast, had been organizationally based on the youth education system, which was also to supply most of its teaching strength. Then again, most evening high schools, for example, had operated on the self-study principle and, organized as they were by KV (The Extra-Mural Studies Institute of Stockholm University), which is an adult education association, they had had almost a completely free hand in planning their activities their working methods, however, were influenced by the participants having to pass examinations. In the new komvux system, on the other hand, teachers were required by the official instructions to award marks based on continuous observations of the participants' achievement throughout the course and not, as in the case of the evening high schools, on a one-off assessment. Thus in practice the new komvux came to operate under conditions which were to make it hard to live up to the methodological ideals which had been formulated for adult education in general and popular education in particular.

The reason for the State intervening so clearly in credential adult education was that it was hoped in this way to boost the advancement of the Swedish economy. Part-time instruction was advocated in order to avoid loss of output, but also to improve the economic feasibility of students actually completing their studies. But the big trade unions were not satisfied with this objective.

At first the aim of the new komvux system was one of service policy (providing the labour market with the skilled labour it required and catering to individually perceived needs), but after 1970 emphasis came to be put on the distributive aim of eliminating differences between privileged and underprivileged groups in the community. This revision of aims resulted from the endorsement of trade union policy by educational policy-makers.

The revised aims of komvux came into conflict with the organization and frames established within komvux since its initiation in 1968. The new komvux was also subject to much the same code of rules as youth education, which was far away from the working conditions of the former evening schools for adults. The latter, it is true, had been governed for the last six years of their existence (before 1967) by Government Ordinances which were frequently foreign to them. But in terms of content, evening high school organization was governed by the principles which had evolved during the initial years of "freedom". Participants prepared themselves mainly for examinations at public high schools. The way in which these preparations took place, through the provision of a certain educational organization for the participants, was very much the autonomous concern of the individual evening high school. As stated earlier, conditions differed from komvux marking practice, which was based on the participants' continuous achievements throughout the entire duration of their studies.

The revision of aims highlighted the question of teaching organization. Under the influence of the trade union movement, with its popular educational traditions, the Government and Riksdag (i.e. parliament) accepted an andragogical view of education, resulting in the 1970 Government Bill (Prop. 1970:35) mentioned earlier. The andragogical ideal could almost be said to have been taken over by the State. It was hoped that this would make the distributive objective more readily attainable. The revision of komvux aims also led to a redoubling of efforts to recruit poorly educated underprivileged adults.

Due to the "rigidity" of the organization it was still only possible to offer 30-70 per cent less teaching time than in the corresponding youth education. The teaching staff still consisted mainly of teachers from youth education, some of whom, however, had had several years' experience of komvux teaching. Certain resources had been added;

for example, educational and vocational counselling (SYO) appointments had been introduced in 1972. By and large, though, it is fair to say that the aims of komvux had been revised without any decisive changes being made to the other frames.

GENERAL RECRUITMENT

Komvux is only one of the main adult educational bodies in Sweden. To give a general overview of recruitment to komvux, the following table makes a comparison between komvux and other adult educational providers.

Table 1. Participants in adult education courses by type of provisions and years (per cent).

Year	74	75	76	77	78	79	80/81	82/83
Provider:								
Study circles	11.3	13.3	15.8	15.1	16.0	15.6	16.9	15.7
Trade Unions	1.1	1.5	2.2	3.1	3.5	3.6	3.2	4.3
Vocational Training Courses	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.3	1.7	1.4	1.6	0.9
Folk High School	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.5
Komvux	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.7	2.3	1.9	2.1	2.5
University	1.5	2.2	1.9	1.7	1.7	2.2	2.7	3.6
Employer	6.1	5.3	7.9	8.4	8.6	9.5	9.2	14.0
All	28.2	30.0	33.8	32.5	33.8	35.4	36.4	40.8
Number of Individuals age: 18-74 (in Millions)	5,53	5,48	5,52	5,56	5,57	5,59	5,68	5,74

From the table can be noticed that two providers dominate the study circles and adult education provided by employers.

THE PROCESS OF INSTRUCTION

A key question in all kind of adult education is the process of instruction. My own empirical studies on the process of instruction in komvux (1978-1982) showed the following main results: (The results are based on 240 classroom-observations, 30 tape-recorded lessons, a great number questionnaires etc.).

Most of all komvux teachers teaching mathematics and Swedish at compulsory school level during the school year concerned were not working in accordance with the teaching ideals formulated by the andragogists, i.e. ideals officially recommended by the Government and Parliament.

Komvux teaching, clearly, is more dominated by the transmission of facts than youth education, at least where compulsory school courses are concerned. In actual fact the teachers played the part of living textbooks. Moreover, as has already been observed, statements of fact by the participants are confined to a small number of very active participants who display "teacher behaviour". With the exception of these active participants, one finds no sign whatsoever of the andragogical spirit which ought to permeate teaching. Putting it rather drastically, one could say that teaching in a more andragogical spirit is made feasible by

the existence in every class of a small active group which could function, for example as teacher assistants. The question is whether it is practically possible for teaching to be permeated by the andragogical ideals. (See also Höghielm, 1985).

I have also collected data in co-operation with the Central Bureau of Statistics during the spring of 1984. About 5.000 first time komvux students who began their komvux studies in the autumn of 1980 were asked to complete a questionnaire in which questions concerning participants' influence were included. This material can be divided up according to the level of studies. Regardless of whether they were taking compulsory school courses or theoretical upper secondary school courses, the students felt that they had only limited opportunities of influencing the planning and conduct of teaching.

THE EFFICIENCY

In order to study certain effects of finished komvux courses the participants in the above mentioned survey also answered questions covering social and cultural resources. I compiled 12 different questions to social and psychological changes using a Guttman scaling technique. Two questions about participants' position at job places were also compiled and labelled as job changes.

The result indicated particularly that women having previous maximum 8 years compulsory school and taking day time courses thought their social and psychological changes had been big. To a lesser extent, the same results were valid for men and women with a secondary educational background before they entered komvux. Generally, day time students thought they had benefitted the biggest social and psychological changes and job changes as well.

From our sample of 4.724 students 75,5 per cent had finished their studies when the survey was carried out (March 1984). 4,4 per cent of the participants said that they partially had fulfilled the studies while 3,5 per cent were still taking courses at komvux. Following table 2 shows dropout reasons considering sex, and day/evening courses.

Table 2. Dropout reasons, considering sex, day/evening time (per cent answers, N=1.243).

Dropout reasons:	Men		Women	
	Day	Evening	Day	Evening
Instrucion	24,2	19,2	23,7	23,0
Job	27,3	42,4	18,6	35,5
Economy	9,3	1,7	5,1	1,0
Family	3,7	3,4	16,0	10,3
New interests	11,8	12,7	12,2	13,9
Other	23,6	20,6	24,4	16,4
Total:	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The most common dropout explanation is job reasons. Next reason had to do with instruction or tutoring. Financial reasons were quite unusual. In the table we also find reason: **other**, which means explanations such as illness, the course was never started or the participants had moved. If considering previous formal education there were no changes in ranking. Generally, minor sex differences could be recognized. Women, compared to men, said to some bigger extent that problems with instructions etc. were a reason for dropouts.

The most usual motive to participate in komvux courses was to continue studies after leaving komvux. Therefore I also checked how many individuals in our sample continued to university or post-secondary education.

A complete register of students who had passed a university degree existed only before 1977. There were no information available about post-secondary education before 1977. Another problem was the komvux register which was complete only after 1979. Following table 3 shows, however, how many komvux students were registered for the first time (considering the short-come with the registers) at university or higher post-secondary education four years later (period 1980-1985).

I had a more precise information available about my sample of komvux students who for the first time had started komvux-studies in the fall of 1980. For those students (approx. 5 000) there existed a complete previous information for the period fall 1977 until spring 1980. Following table 4 shows how many men and women who had taken day/evening komvux-courses were found at university or higher post-secondary education.

The rate of men and women who had taken university or higher post-secondary education before fall 1980 were highest among previous evening komvux-students. The situation was different for those entering higher education beginning fall 1980. More previous daytime komvux-students started higher education from that time.

I also found - not surprisingly - that komvux participants with previous formal secondary education to a greater extent went to higher education beginning fall 1980. Finally I shall present a table 5 showing what kind of higher education our komvux-students choose when entering university or higher post-secondary education, considering previous level of komvux studies.

Table 3. New students (previous komvux-students) for the first time found at university or higher post-secondary education, considering sex. (per cent, N=71.055).

	Men	Women	Total	Per cent	Sum %
1980/81	496	844	1340	1,9	5,5
1981/82	1022	1565	2587	3,6	8,7
1982/83	884	1344	2228	3,1	8,7
1983/84	627	1051	1678	2,4	11,0
1984/85	479	721	1200	1,7	12,7
fall 1985	209	410	619	0,9	13,6

Total Number=9652

Table 4. Previous day/evening komvux-participants who were found at university or higher post-secondary education (per cent, Weighted N=67 272)

	Day		Evening	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
No Higher Education	67,1	76,0	72,9	70,7
Higher Education before fall 1980	14,1	8,3	16,1	18,6
Higher Education from fall 1980	18,8	15,7	11,0	10,7
	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 5. Studies at university or higher post-secondary education considering previous komvux level of courses. (per cent, Weighted N=9230)

	Level of Higher Education:					
	Univ. 120p ≥	Univ. 0-119p ≤	Single Courses	Community Health	Other	Sum %
Correspond. Level at Komvux:						
Compulsory	23,9	15,3	34,3	21,1	5,4	100
2 year theoret.	31,9	28,3	20,7	10,0	9,2	100
3-4 year theoret.	33,7	10,5	49,5	2,6	3,6	100
Vocational	21,8	15,5	50,3	5,4	7,0	100

Most of the previous komvux participants go to single courses provided by universities and other providers of higher education. The only exception are those who only took corresponding 2-year theoretical komvux courses - to greater amount did they go to longer state university courses (120 points or more). You should perhaps have expected to find more participants at the 120-point university courses who previously had taken corresponding 3-4-year theoretcial komvux courses. These university courses normally demand students with a good theoretical background.

Women have dominated komvux since the start 1967. Of interest to mention here is that they go to higher education at the same rate as they are present in komvux.

THE FUTURE

This short overview of komvux (municipal adult education) has showed that it is a competence giving adult education with many faces. Obviously there is a contradiction between the service-political objective of komvux and the objective of redistribution of human resources. But to a certain extent you can argue that the role of educational equality in komvux will decrease in the future.

One main reason is that only around 20 per cent of the Swedish population in the age span 16-65 years has a maximum formal education of 8 years. Ten years ago that figure was 5 times higher. During the period 1967-1987 komvux has had 1 million participants. Probably, to a greater extent in the future, you can expect that more well-educated participants will come to komvux before entering university or higher post-secondary education.

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THE ASSESSMENT OF KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS OF ADULTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

By Ingemar Wedman, University of Umeå and
Lennart Linell, Swedish National Board of Education

With the exception of selective tests in conjunction with applications for employment there is no extensive program in Sweden for testing knowledge and skills - especially as far as adult students are concerned.

One important exception is the Swedish scholastic aptitude test. Another exception might perhaps be the fact that a certain amount of working experience also renders a person qualified for entrance to studies in higher education. A third important exception is of course the process of testing and examination that universities and colleges carry out themselves. We will describe the first two "exceptions" on the following pages.

1. THE SWEDISH SCHOLASTIC APTITUDE TEST

Work on the examination for entrance to higher education that came into effect at the same time as the new higher education reform in 1977, was begun as far back as the 1960's. At that time the object of discussion was a selective test for entrance to university and college studies. One of the reasons for these discussions was the desire to make higher education available to a greater number of people. Another reason was the desire to reduce the decisive significance of final grades from high school and other upper secondary schools for those applying for entrance directly after finishing these studies. A selective test was considered to be a possible solution to the problem of not having some sort of method whereby a person who did not have a formal upper secondary education could be accepted for college or university studies. It was also thought that such a test would reduce the vital importance of grades for acceptance to further studies. After many years of study and deliberation it was decided however that the general entrance examination would be used only for the first group, i.e. those who did not have formal qualifications.

What Does the Test Determine?

The scholastic aptitude test is at this time comprised of six different parts with a total of 144 questions and problems. This is shown in the table below.

Generally speaking, the examination shows intellectual ability of both a verbal and non-verbal nature, capability of assimilating facts and general knowledge.

The various types of tests comprising the examination are related to the demands placed on it. The main objective of the test is to provide a general prognosis of the ability to succeed in post-secondary studies. Since the examination is selective, it must determine as fairly as possible the applicants' ability to succeed at their university studies and rank them accordingly. This is however not the only criterion when compiling the examination. Other criteria that influence the making of the examination are the following:

1. The examination should follow the intents, goals and purposes of higher education.

2. The examination should not have any adverse effects on any studies prior to the test itself.

3. Results of the examination should be able to be corrected quickly, cheaply and as objectively as possible.

4. No individual should be able to obtain a better result by special training ahead of time or by learning and applying special principles and methods for problem solving.

5. An individual should be able to experience the examination as being meaningful and appropriate for selection for college or university studies.

6. The criteria concerning comprehensive recruitment for higher education should be heeded when making an examination. This means that all groups of people should be treated impartially and equally without regard to sex or socio-economic status.

Who Administers the Scholastic Aptitude Test?

The Swedish National Board of Universities and Colleges, NBUC, has, as an administrating authority for the examination, also the main responsibility for it. This responsibility also includes contacts with the different colleges and universities and also the main responsibility for public information. The planning and effectuating of the examination and also of the administrative routines in connection with time and place, of the examination is the responsibility of the individual colleges or universities themselves.

Work involved in the making and structuring of the examination has been assigned to the Department of Education at the University of Umeå. A departmental group (the H-group) constructs the complete entrance examination and its six subdivisions. The H-group also carries out research and development work in conjunction the examination. The group is also responsible for information on the making and correcting of the examination and details concerning results.

Table 1. Contents of entrance examination

Type of test	Number of questions	Allocated time (min.)
Vocabulary	30	15
Quantitative reasoning	20	40
Reading skills	24	50
Ability to understand diagrams, tables, maps	20	50
General knowledge	30	30
Study skills	20	50
Total	144	3 hrs. 55 min.

Rules and Regulations

The entrance examination is given twice a year, once in the spring for entrance in the following fall, and once in the fall for entrance in the spring term. A completely new examination is made each time. The examination is given in all areas of the country where there is a university or college at the same time and on the same day which is always a Saturday. The examination is not mandatory and an individual applies for taking part in the examination by paying a fee to one of the examining universities.

The results of the examination are valid for two years. This means that if a person takes the examination during the fall of 1987 he or she is entitled to apply for studies at a university or college until the fall of 1989, but no later. There is no rule against taking the examination twice or even several times and using the best results when applying.

Giving the Examination

Administration in conjunction with applications for taking the examination and the giving of the examination itself has been carried out by the various universities and colleges since the fall of 1983. Total examination time is 3 hours and 55 minutes. Together with a break for lunch and other shorter breaks the examination takes about 8 hours. Valid proof of identity with a photograph is necessary in order to be admitted to the examination. A person taking part is only allowed to use a pencil, an eraser and a ruler.

Directly after the examination, those taking part are provided with the correct answers to all of the questions and problems, enabling them to figure out their own individual results for all six of the different parts of the examination.

SOME FACTS ABOUT PREVIOUS EXAMINATIONS

The structuring and the conducting of an activity like the Swedish university entrance examination entails extensive analysis and follow-up of both the examination itself and other matters concerning the examination. A short description of the participants and their results is given on the following pages.

The university entrance examination is given twice a year. During the first year (1977) it was given three times. This means that up to and including the fall term of 1986 the examination has been given a total of 21 times to around 90.000 participants.

Table 2 shows that up to the year 1985 the proportionate number of women among participants was greater than the number of men. In 1986 the proportions are the same. As far as age is concerned a gradual shift has taken place towards the lower age categories, i.e. participants have become younger.

The categories of participants' previous education have been modified twice (81:A and 82:A) in order to obtain a more exact description of those taking part in the examination. An obvious change has taken place here in respect to previous educational background. Groups 4 and 5 (2 year and 3-4 year upper secondary school) have increased in size, while groups 1 and 2 (elementary school and 9-year compulsory /junior secondary school) have become smaller. There is therefore a tendency, shown in the latest examination periods, towards a more extensive educational background among the participants.

Table 2. Average distribution of participants according to sex and age, expressed in per cent.

Year of examination		1977-79 7 times	1980-82 6 times	1983-85 6 times	1986 2 times
Sex	M	46	46	46	50
	F	54	54	54	50
Age	< 24	3	6	6	11
	25-29	33	36	42	40
	30-39	50	47	42	40
	> 40	14	11	10	9
Previous education *					
	1	--	2	2	2
	2	29	24	19	15
	3	4	3	3	3
	4	13	23	34	38
	5	14	20	24	25
	6	--	7	9	9
	7	--	6	9	8
	8	33	11	--	--
Unknown		7	3	--	--
Total		15 026	30 547	32 331	9 679

*
1. Elementary school (from and including exam. period 81:A)
2. Nine year compulsory school/Junior secondary school
3. Folk high school
4. 2 year upper secondary school
5. 3-4 year upper secondary school
6. Up to 2 years of post-secondary education (as from 81:A)
7. More than 2 years of post-sedondary education (as from 81:A)
8. Other education (previous to and incl. 81:B)

SCHOLASTIC APTITUDE TEST 1977-1986
Distribution according to previous educational background

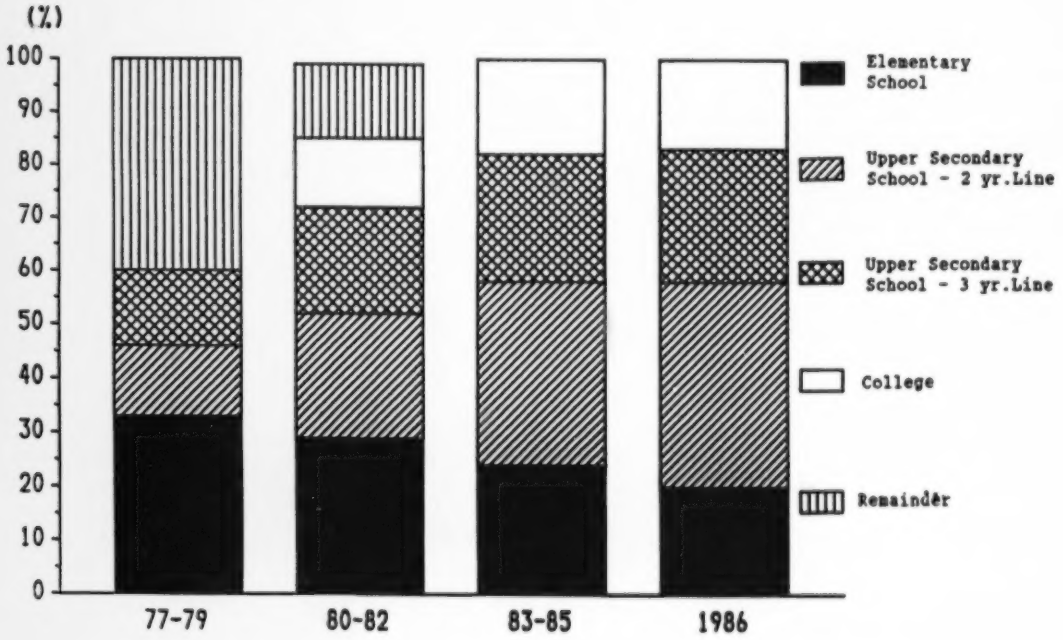

Figure 1. Average distribution of participants according to educational background.

SWEDISH SCHOLASTIC APTITUDE TEST 1977-1986
Results and educational background

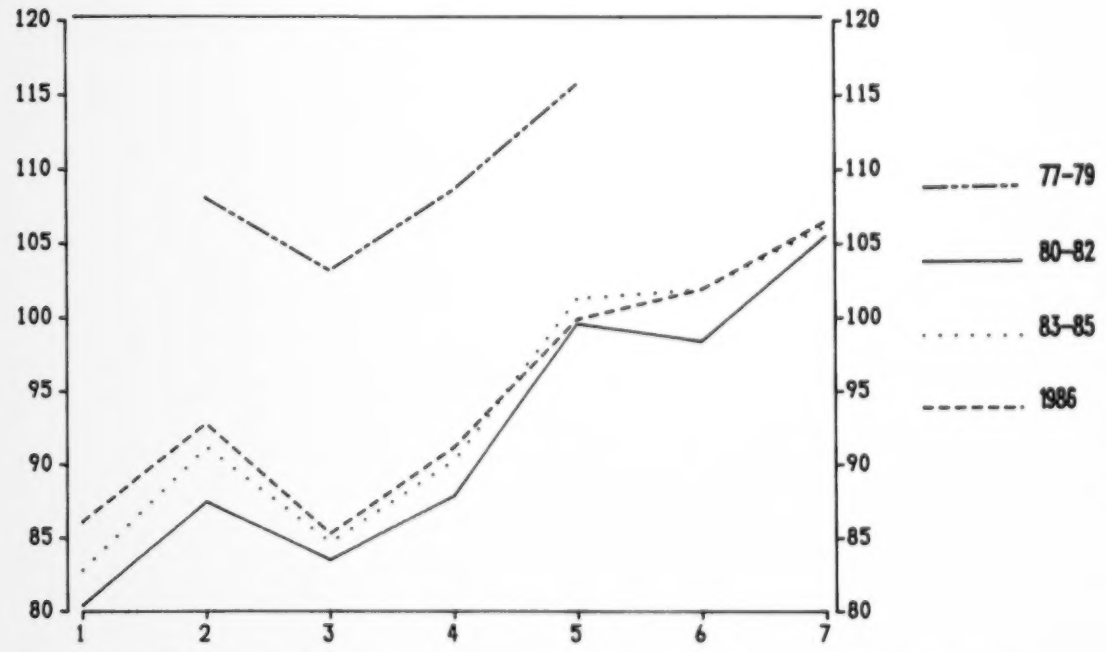

Figure 2. Average results for participants with varying educational backgrounds.

Figure 2 shows a distinct relationship between educational background and examination results, i.e. more extensive education makes for better results in the examination. This conclusion is not surprising considering the fact that the examination is supposed to give an indication of general study skills. It is reasonable to assume that an individual who has studied for a longer period of time has greater aptitudes for studying and has more study skills than an individual with a shorter educational background. Therefore the results from an examination that is supposed to measure aptitude for success in studies at a higher level will be better for such an individual.

2. WORKING EXPERIENCE AS A QUALIFICATION FOR ACCEPTANCE TO HIGHER EDUCATION

The Swedish system for selection of applicants to higher education is rather unique in that working experience is considered to be a special qualification.

With this fact in mind it is naturally of some interest to determine how working experience as a qualification influences selection of applicants and the use of these results as an 'instrument for prognosis'. Only the second question will be discussed here. The comments are taken from a follow-up study in which a number of lines of curriculum at a university level were studied with the purpose of determining the various means of selection (including working experience) and their use as such a criteria for prognosis.

In one of their follow-up reports, Henrysson, Kriström and Lexelius (1985)[1] make the following comment about working experience:

"Working experience seems to lower the prognosis value of admission points which are the sum of scholastic grades or the equivalent plus working experience. This may be related to a combination of among other things, the following conditions:

> Those who gain admission by being able to use points for working experience often have a lower grade average than those who gain admission without points for working experience. (A decrease in the prognosis value remains however when retaining grade average from high school or upper secondary school.)
>
> Those who have points for working experience are often admitted at a later date, have often not retained study habits and have also a lower level of current knowledge.
>
> Those who have working experience are generally older, have a family and are engaged in various social activities. This means that they often have less time to devote to their studies."

When analyzing and assessing the 'results' shown above one must bear in mind that the role of working experience in the process of admission is (also) other than that of increasing the prognosis value. Its main purpose is instead to make higher education available to a wider selection of individuals. A certain type of qualification or merit can therefore be of importance in a selection process, even if it does not contribute to the prognosis.

3. APPLICANTS WITH FINAL GRADES FROM MUNICIPAL ADULT EDUCATION:

Methods for determining grades within municipal adult education and within upper secondary schools differ considerably. According to the established curriculum for adult education (LVux 82), adult students are considered to be a separate reference group for determining grades and there are no rules for

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1) Henrysson, S., Kriström, M. & Lexelius, A. Meritvärdering och studieprognos. Några undersökningar om antagningssystemets effekter. Arbetsrapport nr 21, Pedagogiska institutionen, Umeå universitet, 1985.

fixed distribution of the different grade levels. At this time there are no standard prescriptive tests for determining accomplishment and grade levels. The general opinion seems to be that grade averages are high compared to those from high school or upper secondary school when comparing grades given to students with comparable levels of knowledge.

These defective means of comparing the two types of students - and also differences in general curriculum and courses of study - render it doubtful that students from adult education programs should be compared to students coming from upper secondary schools in the process of admission to higher education. One alternative might be that adult students with final grades from adult education programs would be selected on basis of examination. Points would not be given for grades which would only serve as an indicator for eligibility alone. Another reason for considering this alternative has been the desire to avoid situations where students leave their regular courses of studies and finish them in an adult education program with the express intent of getting higher grades as a result.

However, at the same time there are weighty arguments for not refraining from utilizing the information to be gained from adult students' final grades concerning their ability to carry out further studies. One condition for this is that grades from adult education programs become more comparable than they are at present, both within the programs themselves as well as compared to grades from upper secondary schools. The directives contained in the general curriculum for Swedish schools concerning methods and rules for grading students, stipulate that adult students are to constitute a separate reference group for grading and that grades are to correspond to levels of achievement within high school and upper secondary school. These directives are in our opinion contradictory and ought to be modified so that it is clear that grades given for courses and subjects, that for purposes of eligibility for higher education correspond to grades from the upper secondary school, should also be comparable themselves to those grades. One means of attaining comparability in grading between the two types of schools is the use of standardized achievement tests in main subjects. In Govt. Bill 1984/85:100 amm. 10, the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs stated that it is important that tests be made so that comparability is achieved between grades from adult education programs and grades from upper secondary school. The Swedish National Board of Education, NBE, has now started constructing such tests. We would like to stress the importance of these tests being used as soon as possible and that measures be taken in order to use them to attain comparability with grades from upper secondary school. Otherwise, the use of grades from adult education programs as means of selection must be questioned. The proposal that adult students with final grades from adult education programs be selected by means of examination should once again be considered.

Regulations for the giving of final grades in municipal adult education programs are at the present - due to the step-by-step method of studying - formulated in such a way, that according to The National Board of Universities and Colleges, NBUC, it has become more and more commonplace for applicants with a final grade of 3, also to have a final grade of 2. Therefore these applicants have doubled their chances of being accepted on the basis of grades - a possibility that does not exist for students from upper secondary schools. In the latter case final grades have often been given at the same time. We consider this procedure to be clearly inappropriate and suggest that NBE and NBUC be commissioned to review the effects of the present set of rules and regulations for admission to higher education and if need be to propose necessary changes. One alternative that should be taken into consideration is

that certain applicants would only be allowed to make use of final grades from the longer course of studies.

4. SOME OBSERVATIONS FROM TRIALS OF STANDARDIZED ACHIEVEMENT TESTS FOR ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS:

The Swedish National Board of Education has carried out trials of standardized achievement tests for two years within adult education programs. Tests have been constructed for steps 2 and 3 in Swedish and English and in mathematics for step 4. The main purpose of the tests has been to attain an equivalence in grading, i.e. a level of achievement in an adult education program should be worth the same grade as an equivalent level of achievement in an upper secondary school. Results of the tests show that adult students are given somewhat higher grades for the same level of achievement compared to younger students in upper secondary schools.

Attempts that have been made to construct tests that as closely as possible conform to the general guidelines and principles for adult education and to the experience that adult students have gained in working life do not seem to show that adult students have thereby gained any competence that in quality differs from younger students in upper secondary schools. These students have had just as good results as, or even better than, the results of adult students.

Older students in adult education programs have distinctly lower results than students who are younger. Part-time students and students studying in the evenings have better results than those studying full-time and those studying in the daytime. The group with the best results is made up of those with incompleted 3-year upper secondary education, with minimal working experience and who have eligibility for higher education as a goal.

5. PROPOSAL CONCERNING AMENDED RULES FOR ADMISSION TO HIGHER EDUCATION:

Should the Scholastic Aptitude Test be Used More Extensively?

The current entrance examination is at present taken by a limited number of individuals applying for university studies, namely adult students and applicants without comparable educational qualifications. However, in the spring of 1988 the Ministry of Education presented a Bill (prop. 1987/88:109) to the Parliament (Riksdagen) concerning admission and selection procedures to higher education. This bill suggests a wider use of the entrance examination both for adults and young students. The majority of young students will be admitted according to their marks from upper secondary schools. The role of work experience as an entrance merit will decrease. In the new system it can only be used in combination with results from the entrance tests, not with formal marks at upper secondary level.

The new proposal also stipulates that applicants to universities or colleges should be divided into three different groups. The first group will be admitted on the basis of grades from either high school (upper secondary school) or on the basis of final grades 2 or 3 from a municipal adult education program (komvux). The second group will be admitted on the basis of an entrance test to determine the ability to carry out studies at higher education level. The third group is to be admitted on the basis of individual application.

PART TWO

PATTERNS OF STUDY FINANCE IN SWEDISH POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION

* **Financial Study Assistance for Adults - Is That a Key Issue?**
  By Olof Lundquist

* **Financial Aid and Higher Education.**
  By Allan Svensson

* **Some Figures and Comments on Study Assistance in Sweden.**
  By Gabriella Hansson

FINANCIAL STUDY ASSISTANCE FOR ADULTS
IS IT A KEY ISSUE?

By Olof Lundqvist
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The answer I give to the question posed in the title of the paper is YES. I hope to explain "why" on the following pages.

WHY DON'T ADULTS WHO WISH TO STUDY BEGIN STUDYING?

In the middle of the 1960's two American researchers, Johnstone and Rivera, found that the most common reason for adults not taking up studies was that they couldn't afford it. Other common reasons were that they were too busy or that they were too tired to study in the evenings.

Ten years later in Sweden, Johansson and Ekerwald (1976) carried out a survey of adults who weren't engaged in any studies. The reason they gave for not studying in their spare time was that they simply couldn't manage or didn't have the time. Full-time studying was out of the question since it cost too much and involved having a lower salary or income. The end result was therefore the same as was shown ten years earlier.

Timmerman, a German researcher, writes: "It is believed widely that the form and amount of financial contribution has a very strong impact on the willingness and ability of individuals to participate in recurrent education." (Timmerman, 1983).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FINANCIAL STUDY ASSISTANCE FOR ADULTS IN SWEDEN

In 1968 the Swedish government appointed a special commission in order to examine the question of financial study assistance for adults. The commission presented its proposals in 1974.

During the period between the appointment of the commission and the time it presented its findings, the view of adult education had changed somewhat. In Bill 1967:85 the government had stressed the necessity of using the "educational potential" in Sweden in order to meet the growing demands for skilled manpower within business and industry. In the beginning of the 1970's a shift took place and the previous view shifted more towards a general policy of redistribution. A report from LO, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation, was of great importance in this regard (LOVUX I, 1969). The report contained a proposal concerning the right to leave of absence for studies and also proposals for substantial financial study assistance for adults. The purpose of the report was to achieve greater equality in society, partly by making it easier for adults, mostly those who were considered to be "under-educated", to study. This report had a great effect on that which was laid out in Govt. Bill 1975:23 concerning "a broadened policy of adult education

plus financial study assistance to adults, etc", a bill which thus had distinct aspects of social reform and change.

Govt. Bill 1975:23 contained proposals for special adult study assistance. Even though the financial needs of adults vary, one might say that they are generally greater than the financial needs of young people who study. Therefore the starting point, when constructing a plan for special adult study assistance, was that three conditions should be met:

* loss of income during the period of study should be compensated to a considerable extent
* special adult study assistance should mainly consist of grants and not loans
* both short and long-term studies should be covered by the plan.

After initiating special adult study assistance there were three types of national study assistance or financial aid which adults could apply for when studying for longer periods of time: special adult study assistance, general study assistance and AMS-study grants (National Labour Market Board study grants).

Special adult study assistance consists of 65 per cent grants and 35 per cent loans. The number of applications accepted for this kind of assistance is limited. Applicants must meet specific qualifications. In the first place, this type of study assistance is given to those applicants who are considered to have the greatest need for studying and for receiving financial assistance, who have worked for many years and are not able to study in their spare time. Up to 1986, there have been around 15 000 applicants per school year who have qualified for special adult study assistance. However, since many study for shorter periods of time than a full year, the number of adults who have received assistance has exceeded 15 000. Almost all of the recipients have received assistance for studying at the compulsory school level (up to grade 9) or at the Swedish "gymnasium" level. Usually these studies have taken place within a program for municipal adult education.

General study assistance has been a form of financial study aid for young people since 1965, but it has also been used by adults who did not qualify for special adult study assistance. It consists of about 5 per cent grants and 95 per cent loan.

There are no special rules for selecting those who qualify to receive general study assistance. When the program for special adult study assistance was first introduced the program for general study assistance was partly modified in order to adapt to the situation of adult applicants.

AMS-study grants are given to those who are unemployed or who run the risk of losing their jobs. This form of assistance consists of 100 per cent grants.

This conference concerns adult education at post-secondary or post-compulsory level. The findings of the study in question concern municipal adult education. This type of school is not considered to be higher education in Sweden but on the other hand, it is in essence post-compulsory. What determines the financial needs of an adult student is not the level of education he or she is studying at. Decisive factors are instead type of employment, income and family situation. Additional factors of importance are the extent of the studies and whether or not a student will be studying full-time or part-time.

HOW DO ADULT STUDENTS FINANCE THEIR STUDIES?

In order to answer the above question we have studied the results of a survey of students who had just begun studying in municipal adult educational programs during the autumn term of 1980. The data were collected by SCB (Statistics Sweden) in 1984 and consist of a random sample of 7 500 individuals.

As already stated, the plans for adult study assistance were outlined so that the assistance given would cover the loss of income while studying. However, those who chose to go from full-time employment to full-time studies were subjected to a considerable decrease in income. For example, the difference between the maximum amount of financial assistance and the average monthly salary for a male industrial worker in 1976 was as large as 33 per cent. This figure dropped in 1980 to 24 per cent. It should be pointed out that those individuals who had worked part-time or had worked in the home were also able to receive special adult study assistance. This fact has affected the use of special adult study assistance and as a result has influenced the recruitment of individuals to adult education programs.

Table 1 shows how students studying in a municipal adult education program financed their studies.

The most common means of financing studies is by means of work or employment. One fifth of those questioned received some type of national study assistance. One out of every 10 adult students finances his or her studies in some other way, for example by depending on husband's or wife's income or by private means. It should be pointed out that general study assistance, which is meant primarily for young people, is used by a larger number of individuals than special adult study assistance. There are two main reasons for this: the limited number of recipients of special adult study assistance and the amount of assistance given under the program. The first explanation means that many of those who are not able to receive special adult study assistance apply for and receive general study assistance instead. As far as the amount of assistance available is concerned, it is a fact that it was often below the amount available through general study assistance. This situation was, however, changed in 1984. As can be seen from the data presented in Table 2; this has influenced the proportion between men and women applying to municipal adult education.

Table 1. Means of financing studies for adult students. Per cent.

Work	SP.A.S.A.*	G.S.A.**	AMS-GRANTS	OTHER	TOTAL
69	7	11	2	11	100

Table 2. Means of financing studies. According to sex. Per cent.

	Work	SP.A.S.A.	G.S.A.	AMS-GRANTS	OTHER	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
Men	75	5	12	---	7	100	36

* Special Adult Study Assistance ** General Study Assistance

Two thirds of those beginning studies in a municipal adult education program are women. This corresponds well to the total number of women studying in municipal education programs as compared to the number of men. However, of those who received special adult study assistance, three out of four are women.

A greater proportion of men than women finance their studies by working. This is probably due to the fact that men, on the average, have higher salaries than women and that the amount of special adult study assistance available is relatively low. Men who wish to take a leave of absence from their jobs in order to study and live on special adult study assistance are subjected to a larger decrease in salary than women in a similar situation. Women more often than men tend to depend on the salaries earned by their spouses.

When speaking of adult education and adult study assistance one must define the word "adult". Darkenvald and Merriam (1982) define adult education in the following manner:

"Adult education is a process whereby persons whose major social roles are characteristic of adults undertake systematic and sustained learning activities for the purpose of bringing about changes in knowledge, attitudes, values and skills."

In order to be considered an adult, a person must therefore maintain one or more of the social roles that characterize adult life. Examples of such roles are holding a job for a certain length of time or taking care of one's own children for a certain number of years. As far as qualifying for special adult study assistance is concerned, the set length of time is 4 years.

One of the aims of adult education in Sweden is to balance the differences in the level of education acquired by different age groups. One of the means for achieving this aim is through the use of special adult study assistance. It is therefore important to study how adult students in different age groups finance their studies. The results are to be found in Table 3.

Three fourths of the individuals taking part in the survey are over the age of 25. Within the remaining one-fourth there is a small group of individuals who most nearly can be described as students who have never really finished the studies they began when they were younger. Most of those in the youngest age group have had gainful employment for at least a year before they began studying in a program of municipal adult education. This means that the greater majority of those taking part in the survey meet Darkenvald's and Merriam's criterion for being an adult student.

Table 3. Means of financing studies. According to age. Per cent.

	Work	SP.A.S.A.	G.S.A.	AMS-GRANTS	OTHER	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
Yrs.							
20-24	61	1	25	---	9	100	24
25-34	65	9	9	---	14	100	36
35-54	76	10	3	---	9	100	40

The proportion of those who finance their studies by working increases in the older age groups. General study assistance is mainly an alternative for the younger adult students. This kind of study assistance plays a very minor part in the financing of studies for the oldest age group. Instead the two most dominating factors are work and special adult study assistance. The results show that the way the different types of assistance are used conform extensively to the intentions and ambitions of each of the respective types. This is in itself a positive result.

One of the most important variables in the survey is "initial education". Those who were under-educated and who had at the most a 9th grade education were the focal point of the educational reform in 1975. It is therefore important to study this group and see how they financed their studies. Table 4 shows the results.

Those who were under-educated comprise more than half of the beginning students but the same group has received almost 80 per cent of the special adult study assistance. This is in itself a gratifying result. On the other hand the majority of individuals taking part in the survey who were under-educated financed their studies by working. This naturally limits their possibilities of studying, especially full-time.

FINANCING, INTENSITY AND SCOPE OF STUDIES

Studying in a program of adult education is often carried out part-time. The societal reasons for this have been and still are of a largely economic nature (Govt. Bills 1967:85, 1983/84:169). Individuals also have reasons for choosing to study part-time. They may have a limited study goal and assume that they can best achieve this through part-time studies. A person might also doubt his or her own ability to study and choose to begin part-time studies for the time being while maintaining contact with working life.

Full-time studies have certain important advantages over part-time studies. The time a person has at his or her disposal can be limited or the person can experience the time as being limited. By concentrating on studies, these goals can be achieved faster. Therefore, the outcome of the studies may benefit both the individual and society as a whole earlier than otherwise.

Table 4. Means of financing studies. According to initial education. Per cent.

	Work	SP.A.S.A.	G.S.A.	AMS-GRANTS	OTHER	% OF TOTAL
Max 9th grade	50	77	52	---	53	53
Past 9th grade	50	23	48	---	47	47
Total	100	100	100	---	100	
% OF TOTAL	69	7	11	2	11	

Shorter periods of study are easier to finance than longer and more comprehensive studies. As can be seen in Table 5, 90 per cent of all shorter periods of study ar carried out part-time. About half of those with more far-reaching goals studied full-time. A total of about one fourth of those taking part in the survey studied full-time.

The extent and type of study assistance can also influence the choice between part-time and full-time studies. As we mentioned before, the decrease in income that is a result of leaving full-time employment for full-time studies is often so considerable that it greatly restricts a person's chances of relying on study assistance for full-time studies. A person can even receive study assistance for part-time studies, but in practice this possibility is used very seldom. This is probably due largely to the fact that the rules for qualifying for part-time study assistance are inflexible.

Full-time studies together with working enough to finance those studies are naturally difficult to realize. This is shown clearly in Table 6. Almost all of those who finance their studies by working, study part-time.

Table 5. Intensity and scope of studies. Per cent.

	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
Short-term studies	10	90	100	65
Long-term studies	49	51	100	35
% OF TOTAL	23	77		

Table 6. Financing and intensity of studies. Per cent.

	Work	SP.A.S.A .	G.S.A.	AMS-GRANTS	OTHER	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
Full-time	15	30	35	9	11	100	24
Part-time	85	1	4	---	10	100	76
% OF TOTAL	69	7	11	2	11		

There is a very distinct relationship between the financing of studies and the time allocated to them. Those who study full-time receive some type of study assistance in three cases out of four. One can therefore draw the conclusion that the possibilities of studying full-time without being able to receive study assistance are minimal indeed. This especially applies to those who are in a more extensive program of studies. In this group 90 per cent receive some kind of study assistance. In Table 7 it is shown that not all those who desire to study full-time are able to do so.

The questionnaire contained a question to those studying part-time: Would you have wanted to study full-time if you had had the financial possibilities to do so? Table 7 shows that one out of every three part-time students would have wanted to study full-time if there had been a possibility to do so. If this had been the case, the number of full-time students might have doubled in size.

The proportion of part-time students who would have wanted to study if they had had the financial possibilities to do so is greater among men than among women. This result reflects the fact that men generally have higher incomes than women. One of the reasons for this is that the average number of working hours per week is higher among men than among women. Therefore men more often than women would have to accept a larger decrease in income and as a result be forced to finance their studies by working. Thus most of them have to study part-time instead.

The relationship between degree of employment before studies and time allocated to studies is shown in Table 8. The data indicate that the higher the degree of employment, i.e. the higher the income received before starting a course of studies, the fewer there are who study full-time.

Table 7. Actual and desired intensity of studies. Per cent.

FULL-TIME	PART-TIME: DESIRE FULL-TIME	PART-TIME: DO NOT DESIRE FULL-TIME	TOTAL
24	23	53	100

Table 8. Degree of employment before and intensity of studies. Per cent.

	EMPLOYMENT BEFORE STUDIES			
	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	NONE	% OF TOTAL
Full-time studies	19	24	45	24
Part-time studies	81	76	55	76
Total	100	100	100	100
% OF TOTAL	65	24	11	

FINANCING OF STUDIES AND EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE

The number of different types of national study assistance available at different levels of assistance are important as far as possibilities of studying are concerned. The level of assistance affects the possibilities of completing studies as planned. A common method of measuring educational performance is to look at how many of those who started to study actually completed studying. Table 9 shows how the various means of financing studies affect the possibilities of completing them.

Those who received some type of national study assistance completed their studies to a larger degree than those who financed their studies in some other way. This group also has the lowest percentage in the "stopped completely" column. Among those who financed their studies in some other way more than twice as many quit studying entirely.

THE EFFECTS OF EDUCATION FINANCED THROUGH ADULT STUDY ASSISTANCE

In a separate survey (Lundquist, 1985) the outcome of studies carried out by individuals receiving different kinds of study assistance has been examined.

The survey comprises a random selection of persons who applied for adult study assistance for the first time during the academic year 1978/79. The purpose of the survey was twofold.

* to find out whether or not the studies had led to any actual changes in the employment situation of the individuals, and if so, what changes had taken place;

* to show what significance the studies had had for those questioned and also to determine which group had gained the most from their studies.

The results show among other things that the employment ratio for women (number of women employed as opposed to the total number of women in each age group) and degree of employment (number of hours worked per week) increased after the completion of the studies. However, the figures for women were still lower than for men.

Two very stable patterns could be detected when it came to the way in which the individuals experienced their studies. The first can be described as a generally positive feeling for studies and the other as an increase in "political resources". The term is taken from a book by Richard Titmus called Essays on the Welfare State (1958).

Table 9. Completed/incompleted studies. According to means of financing. Per cent.

	COMPLETED STUDIES	STOPPED PARTLY	STOPPED COMPLETELY	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
Work	66	16	18	100	69
Nat. study assistance	78	15	7	100	20
Other Means	72	11	17	100	11

The term "political resources" refers to the abilities and resources a person has access to, and the way they help him make his voice heard in various political contexts. An example of one such context might be participation in different kinds of organizations and also the ability to assert oneself when dealing with authorities. Here, the ability to express oneself both verbally and in writing is very important, and in many ways crucial. A better ability to express one's opinion and to be able to participate in a discussion is an indication of increased political resources. Furthermore it is also an indication of increased political resources if a person is more able to follow and understand public discussions and issues than before.

The term also indicates something which is perhaps the most important quality a person can have, irrespective of other gains he might or might not have obtained from studying - and that is the quality of self-respect (Rawls, 1971). There are two sides to self-respect. One is a feeling of self-esteem. The other is self-confidence. Lack of self-respect can result in irresolution and the inability to assert one's interests and rights. A genuine feeling of self-respect gives a person increased ability to withstand the influence of other groups and rival interests.

This kind of development is the most common one of all developments reported in the survey. However there are also clear-cut differences between different sub-groups. Women, more than men, stress this kind of change, older more than younger, those with a shorter span of initial education more than those with more education. Looking at these results from a viewpoint of a policy of educational redistribution, the outcome is encouraging.

The other pattern that emerges when examining how studies were experienced is one directly connected to working life. The pattern signifies an expression of an increase in occupational status, for example higher wages, new job assignments or better capabilities of carrying out the same work as before. In this case, with one exception, there are no clear-cut differences between the different groups. The one exception was the group consisting of those who had previously worked at home, for example housewives, etc.

CONCLUSIONS

Education can be seen as a resource that helps an individual to form his or her own life conditions when competing with others. That is why the aspect of educational redistribution is so important (Johanson, 1970). The end result of previous educational reforms might be described in the words used in the parable of the talents found in the gospel Matthew: "For unto everyone that hath shall be given ...!" Therefore the aim and direction of the educational reform of 1975 could be expressed as: "Give an abundance to everyone that hath yet received but very little."

The most common means for adults to finance their studies is by working. The result of this is that most of them must study part-time. The development of national adult study assistance and especially the type called special adult study assistance, has meant that there are now greater opportunities for adults to study full-time. This is illustrated by the fact that 90 per cent of those who took part in more extensive study programs received some kind of national study assistance.

Through the use of particular selection procedures, special adult study assistance has been given to applicants who were under-educated and to those who had the greatest financial needs. The level of study assistance, which was far below the average monthly salary of a male industrial worker, has had an effect on the number of men who applied to municipal adult education programs. Special adult study assistance has gone to women in three cases out of four.

A certain increase in the amount financial resources available took place in 1984, but there is likely a need for more flexibility in individually adapting the amount of assistance to each applicant's level of personal income. There is probably also a need for more flexible procedures with regard to allocating study assistance for part-time studies.

In a separate survey the outcomes of studies carried out by individuals receiving different kinds of study assistance were examined. An increase in degree of employment and employment ratio (number of women employed as opposed to the number of women in each age group) was noted. The men taking part in the survey remained at a high level compared to the women. Two very stable patterns could be seen when it came to the way studies were experienced by the individuals. The first pattern could be described as a generally positive feeling for studies and the second pattern as an increase in "political resources".

A great majority of those receiving national study assistance completed their courses of study. A greater number of those who studied full-time completed their studies compared to those who studied part-time. One out of every three part-time students would have chosen to study full-time if it had been financially feasible. If this had been the case then the number of full-time students would have doubled in number. It is interesting to try to imagine what the outcome of such a situation would have been. There is one very clear conclusion to all this: The potential possibilities of study assistance in influencing the use and structure of the educational system are very great indeed.

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FINANCIAL AID AND HIGHER EDUCATION

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Sweden, like most other industrialized countries, allocates a lot of money to study assistance. In the fiscal year 1985/86, the total expenditure amounted to some S.cr. 6 800 million. Of this total sum more than 40 per cent was given to students in post-secondary education.

Study assistance offered to university or college students consists of a grant and a repayable loan. When the present system was introduced in 1965, the grant represented 25 per cent of the total sum but this proportion has been gradually reduced and now, in 1987, it represents only 6 per cent. This declining grant proportion is due to the fact that the total sum received is linked to the cost of living index and when this index is increased according to inflation, only the repayable part of the aid is increased. On some occasions the grant too has been increased although only by small amounts.

There is no examination of need in relation to the income or private means of the student's parents. However, the total sum received is reduced if the student has an income or other private means exceeding a certain limit.

Any student who comes up to the financial requirements has a right to receive the aid when entering a programme of post-secondary education. At this point there is no test of academic ability. But after the first year the student has to demonstrate satisfactory academic progress in order to be eligible for continued aid.

When the present system was introduced in the mid-1960s, there was a strong belief that economic support would be an effective means to enhance equality of educational opportunity. By offering this aid even students from low-income families are given the opportunity to attend a university or college programme, to make a free choice between programmes and to complete a degree.

Even if financial resources are important for educational choice and for success in studies, equality of educational opportunity is not only a matter of economy. The decisions to attend and to persist in a university programme are highly influenced by valuations of and attitudes to higher education. These factors in turn are influenced by the future prospects of university-educated people on the labour market. During the 1970s these prospects deteriorated and consequently post-secondary education became less attractive to many young people. It seems quite reasonable to suppose that this development was of greater importance for the educational choice among students coming from lower social strata than among students coming from homes with an academic tradition.

In order to determine the importance of financial aid in modern Swedish society as a deciding factor for recruitment to post-secondary education - and especially with regard to the extent to which this aid has influenced people coming from lower social strata to commence study programmes - an extensive survey was conducted in

the spring of 1986. The survey included 10.000 persons born in 1963, i.e. 10 per cent of all 23-year-olds in Sweden. One of the questions was:

> **Have you begun or do you intend to begin a programme of studies at the university level?**

As shown by Table 1, 18 per cent had begun studies at a post-secondary level and furthermore 12 per cent planned on beginning. However, considerable differences can be seen between individuals coming from different socio-economic groups. For example, 43 per cent from Group I had begun studying but only 9 per cent from Group III.

The large differences between Group I and III can be partly explained by the fact that a considerably larger per cent of the individuals from Group I had completed upper secondary education (see the data presented in Table 2).

Tabel 1. Number of 23-year-olds born in 1963 who had begun or planned on beginning studies at a post-secondary level (expressed in per cent of total number of individuals in each group).

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP*	ALREADY BEGUN STUDYING	INTENDS TO BEGIN STUDYING	TOTAL
I	43	15	58
II	19	15	34
III	9	10	19
TOTAL	18	12	30

* Group I Occupation of parents: White-collar workers in higher positions
Group II Occupation of parents: White-collar workers in lower positions
Group III Occupation of parents: Blue-collar workers

Table 2. Percentage of individuals born in 1963 who have completed upper secondary education (expressed in per cent of total number of individuals in each group).

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP	PER CENT
I	87
II	74
III	62
TOTAL	70

The following question was put to those who had already started a course of studies at the post-secondary level:

> **If there had been no financial aid available when you entered higher education, would you have begun studies at all?**

The answers supplied by those asked are shown in Table 3.

The availability of financial aid for studies has evidently had an impact on the number of individuals studying at a university level. If financial aid had not been available, more than one out of three of those now studying would probably not have been able to do so. The availability of financial aid has also had a socially equalizing effect. This is due to the fact that a larger percentage of those in Group III than in Group I began studies as a result of being able to receive student financial aid. Thus far financial aid seems to have had a positive effect; but what do those who have not continued their studies think about the aid? Is it because of financial reasons that they have not gone on to higher education?

In order to obtain answers to these questions we proceeded in the following manner:

Table 3. Would the students in higher education have begun their studies, even without financial aid being available? Comparisons between different socio-economic groups (expressed in per cent of total number of students in each group).

	SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP			TOTAL
	I	II	III	
Yes, definitely	35	24	20	28
Yes, probably	40	36	31	36
No, probably not	17	28	28	23
No, definitely not	8	12	21	13
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Those who had not begun any post-secondary studies and who did not plan on beginning any were asked why they did not intend to go to a university or college. The exact question was:

Why do you have no plans to begin any college or university studies?

- Choose whether the following statements apply to you or not. Mark your choice for <u>each</u> alternative.

	Applies	Does not apply
My previous training and/or my grades were not good enough.	( )	( )
I would not be able to live on the financial aid that is available.	( )	( )
The nearest college or university is too far away.	( )	( )
My family situation makes it impossible for me to study.	( )	( )
I don't want to acquire the debts involved in accepting financial aid.	( )	( )
University or college education will not improve my chances on the labour market.	( )	( )
I am not interested in further studies.	( )	( )

Other reason(s):
Please describe in a few words: _____

In answering the questionnaire one or more reasons could be given. On the average, more than two reasons were given. This suggests that it may often be a combination of obstacles that makes an individual refrain from higher education.

Table 4 shows those who had completed secondary education, but had no intention of further studies, answered the question. The Table shows how many per cent of the total number of those asked who stated that a certain reason or obstacle applied to them. The Table also shows the rank-order for the listed reasons.

The two most prevalent obstacles to entering post-secondary education are of a financial nature. The obstacle most frequently reported is that about future debts. It is mentioned by more than 60 per cent. The next most prevalent obstacle is difficulties in living on the amount of financial aid.

After the two financial obstacles follow obstacles concerning lack of interest in further studies, poor training and employment opportunities in the mentioned rank-order. The remaining specific alternatives - distance from nearest college or university and lastly, family situation - are listed by considerably fewer individuals.

If we look at the groups of young people coming from different socio-economic backgrounds and compare them to the list of obstacles to higher education, we find great similarities in the rank orders (Table 5). However, as far as the most prevalent obstacle is concerned, that of financial debts, a larger percentage of those coming from Group II and III listed this alternative. More young people from these two groups than from Group I also were of the opinion that they would not be able to live on the student financial aid. One of the reasons for this becomes clear when examining the third and fourth alternatives in the table - a larger percentage of these individuals have a greater travelling distance to the nearest college or university and they have a more difficult family situation. These are two circumstances which, without doubt, make it more difficult to pursue an education.

Table 4. The importance of various obstacles among those who had not begun any university or college studies and who had no plan on entering.

Obstacle or reason	Per cent	Rank
My previous training and/or my grades were not good enough.	29	4
I would not be able to live on the financial aid that is available.	57	2
The nearest college or university is too far away.	12	8
My family situation makes it impossible for me to study.	16	6
I don't want to acquire the debts involved in accepting financial aid.	62	1
University or college education will not improve my chances on the labour market.	26	5
I am not interested in further studies.	45	3
Other reason(s).	15	7

Table 5. The importance of various obstacles among those who had not begun any university or college studies and who did not plan to do so. Comparisons between different socio-economic groups.

Obstacle or reason	Per cent			Order of Rank		
	I	II	III	I	II	III
My previous training and/or my grades were not good enough.	28	25	31	4	5	4
I would not be able to live on the financial aid that is available.	51	59	58	2	2	2
The nearest college or university is too far away.	7	12	13	8	8	7
My family situation makes it impossible for me to study.	10	14	18	7	7	6
I don't want to acquire the debts involved in accepting financial aid.	54	61	65	1	1	1
University or college education will not improve my chances on the labour market.	22	27	27	6	4	5
I am not interested in further studies.	34	39	50	3	3	3
Other reason(s).	23	16	12	5	6	8

After having studied the results in Table 5 one might conclude that the socio-economic differences are rather slight. For example, there is only an eleven per cent difference between the highest and lowest socio-economic group regarding the fear of future debts. On the other hand, one must remember that there is a considerably greater number of young people within the lower socio-economic groups who had not begun and who also had no intention of beginning any post-secondary education. The respective proportion shares were 39 per cent in Group I, 62 per cent in Group II and as many as 74% in Group III.

In order to understand the actual importance of the various obstacles in decreasing the rate of transition from secondary to post-secondary education, one must take into account the above-mentioned facts. This is shown in Table 6 and the results have been obtained by multiplying the percentage of individuals who have listed a specific obstacle by the percentage within each socio-economic group that has not pursued any further studies. Consequently, the percentages in Table 5 for Group I have been able to determine the percentage of the total number of individuals in each socio-economic group that has specified a certain obstacle in the list of alternatives. In other words, to what extent has each of the obstacles contributed in reducing the rate of transition from secondary to post-secondary education in each of the socio-economic groups.

When taking into consideration that there are larger numbers of secondary school pupils from the lower socio-economic groups that do not go on to

further studies at a university or college level, the differences between the groups become more apparent. The two main obstacles - those having to do with the individual's financial situation - are more than twice as prevalent within Group III as compared to Group I.

After studying the results of Table 6, the following question arises: Would the rate of transition from secondary to post-secondary education increase by 20 per cent in Group I, by 35 per cent in Group II and by almost 50 per cent in Group III if the two main obstacles of a financial nature were resolved? The answer must be no. One of the reasons for this is that the number of students that can be accepted for higher education is limited. Another reason is that those taking part in the survey as a rule marked more than two alternatives. This means that many of those who stated that there was a financial reason for them not pursuing further education, also had other reasons for not entering higher education.

There is, however, one group who marked the economic alternatives exclusively. They comprise 5 per cent in Group I, 7 per cent in Group II and 8 per cent in Group III. Of course we cannot guarantee that all of these individuals would apply to a college or university and be accepted if their financial problems were eliminated or reduced. However, the figures give us a clear hint that the social structure of universities and colleges would become more equal.

Table 6. The importance of various obstacles for reducing the rate of transition to post-secondary education. In per cent of the total number of individuals in each socio-economic group who has completed secondary education.

Obstacle	Socio-economic Group I	II	III
My previous training and/or my grades were not good enough.	11	16	23
I would not be able to live on the financial aid that is available.	21	37	43
The nearest college or university is too far away.	3	7	10
My family situation makes it impossible for me to study.	4	9	13
I don't want to acquire the debts involved in accepting financial aid.	21	38	48
University or college education will not improve my chances on the labour market.	9	17	20
I am not interested in further studies.	13	24	37
Other reason(s).	9	10	9

At the same time the figures also show that we would not be able to achieve any dramatic changes, even if we were to come to terms with the financial problems. Complete social equality in this aspect cannot be achieved. Factors such as ambition, interests, parental influence, etc. are probably much more important than the financial factorsin isolation when determining the probability of studying at a post-secondary level. This ascertainment, however, must not prevent us from attempting to reduce study debts and improve the economical conditions during the period of study. After all, economic factors are more easily changed than many other factors influencing the educational choices.

SOME FIGURES AND COMMENTS ON STUDY ASSISTANCE IN SWEDEN

By Gabriella Hansson
National Board of Student Aid

Who is an adult student? It is sometimes argued that the educational attainment level is the decisive factor and, that, accordingly, all attending in higher education should be regarded as adults. Otherwise, age is most frequently used as a criterion. For example, the regulations concerning broadened admission to higher education in Sweden apply to persons aged 25 years and older. Other criteria that can be used for the purpose of defining an adult student are gainful employment or children.

In Sweden, a distinction is made, for the purposes of study assistance provided for upper secondary school studies, between younger and older students, and the dividing line is 20 years of age. Students under 20 are normally considered to be part of their parents' household. One of the aims of study assistance at this level is to improve the family's financial situation during the children's schooling. Some elements of study assistance are means-tested against parental income. On the other hand, students aged 20 and over are regarded as financially independent from their parents. They receive study assistance on the same conditions as university students. The amount of assistance they obtain is only affected by their own financial circumstances. The right to receive this assistance is not related to age. Instead, the criterion for assessment is based on the number of years spent in gainful employment.

In the case of post-secondary education, study assistance is the same for all students regardless of age or whether the student lives at home, is married or single. A supplementary loan is only granted if the student has children.

These principles mean that the conditions vary for a student to be able to maintain him/herself during his/her studies.

When the study assistance system was introduced in 1965 the majority of students in post-secondary education were under 25 years of age. Accordingly, the system was constructed against the background of the living costs for these "youthful students". However, since then, developments in education and the need for various forms of in-service training, have meant a shift upwards in the age of students within both higher education and upper secondary school education. The development of municipal adult education constitutes another element in this trend.

The existance of study assistance for students at universities and colleges of further education has, to a considerable extent, been a prerequisite for the expansion of higher education in Sweden. The design was simple and the regulations were liberal. However, the system has not been changed to the extent required, bearing in mind the altered composition of the student body and the developments in society in general. This has led to mounting criticism. During the last few years questions concerning study assistance have continually been discussed in the mass media.

One of the main issues at the moment is whether it is possible, in such a highly standardized system, to satisfy reasonable financial needs of students varying in age between 18-55. Several studies show that the level of assistance is acceptable for young students living at home or sharing household costs with a spouce/cohabitee. Whereas someone living alone often has difficulty in maintaining him/herself on study assitance alone. These difficulties are naturally accentuated for more mature students who, perhaps after some time spent in gainful employment, want to study for a degree or train for a skill.

It can be argued that there are grounds for adjusting the level of study assistance to accomodate different needs. However, there is resistance in many quarters to any changes which would place the different student groups against each other and which would make administration more complicated. A Commission appointed by the government to carry out a review of study assistance is to present its stance on this issue. The Commission's work may possibly be made easier by the fact that single people and married couples without children will be eligible for housing subsidies as from 1988. According to the present regulations such allowances can only be awarded to families with children. The new regulations mean, in reality, a significant financial improvement for students living away from the parental home.

Table 1 shows the extent to which state study assistance is utilized by students in further education.

It can be seen from Table 1 that 82 per cent of students taking separate courses and 12 per cent of students following the general study programmes finance their studies using means other than study assistance. The vast majority of them are 25 or older. The most common ways of financing studies, other than the state system, are, for example, through salaried employment whilst studying, assistance from parents or husband/wife, or sponsorship by an employer. Many students in receipt of study assistance also have a part-time job.

The incurrance of study debts has also been highly criticized during the last few years. Study assistance is largely comprised of a loan which must be repaid. The grant share, for a 9 month academic year, is about 2 200 SEK; which is approximately 6 per cent of the total sum. When the system was introduced the grant share accounted for 25 per cent of the total sum. In other words, there has been a considerable undermining of the grant part of study assistance. Up to the middle of the 1970s , the size of the debt incurred increased moderately. However, high inflation in the latter part of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s led the loan amount, which followed price increases, to increase rapidly. A consequence of this was that size of the indebtedness rose dramatically.

A student taking a three year degree course and receiving study assistance for the whole of this period has, at the present level of loan, debts of about 120 000 SEK when repayment commences. Bearing in mind that the salary for a university graduate in Sweden is not high, there is a risk that repayment will be a considerable future financial burden. A particularly vunerable group consists of mature students who have taken advantage of study loans during both their upper secondary school education and their university studies. Further, as the repayment period is as a rule shorter for them, repayment can be a considerable problem. In such cases it is possible to write off a lesser part of the debts incurred for upper seconadary studies. However, it is necessary that these opportunities to write off debts are extended.

A generally accepted goal is that studies at the upper secondary level should not be associated with indebtedness to any noticeable degree. In the case of students under 20, this goal has, by and large, been achieved. However, many mature students at the same level, as

Table 1. Students in Higher Education Receiving Study Assistance Distributed According to Age, In 1984/85.

Education/ Finance	Age -25 %	Age 25+ %	Total %	Number of Students	Proportion %
Undergraduate Studies: General Study programmes					
Students Registered	53	47	100	120 000	100
Study Grant Only	58	42	100	5 000	4
Study Grant and Loan	55	45	100	99 000	83
Adult Study Assistance	7	93	100	1 000	1
Other Finance	41	59	100	15 000	12
Undergraduate Studies: Separate Courses					
Students Registered	25	75	100	74 000	100
Study Grant Only	65	35	100	1 000	1
Study Grant and Loan	55	45	100	12 000	17
Other Finance	18	82	100	61 000	82
Post Graduate Education					
Students Registered	3	97	100	14 000	100
Study Grant and Loan	10	90	100	600	4
Other Finance [1]	3	97	100	13 400	96

1) A large group of post-graduate students receive post-graduate grants or are employed as research assistants. Universities have their own allocation for this type of study finance.

previously mentioned, are forced to make use of study assistance for their upkeep.

Luckily, so far only 5 per cent of all those who borrow money owe more than 100 000 SEK. In many cases studies have only lasted one or two years. Nor do all students borrow money for the whole period of their studies. However, the tendency towards increased study debts is clear. Of those who commenced repayment this year, approximately 12 per cent owe more than 100 000 SEK. As those currently in further education complete their studies, the proportion of borrowers with large debts will rise.

A factor which is not always obvious to the students is that the loan element of the study assistance system is highly subsidized. If the present value is calculated for the repayments made under a repayment period of, say, 20 years, discounted by 8 per cent, then the rate of subsidization can be set at approximately 40 per cent. Together with the grant element, the total state subsidy, at an interest rate of 8 per cent, amounts to about 45 per cent. At a higher rate of interest, or with a longer period of studies or an extended time for repayment, the costs for the state will increase.

The previously mentioned Commission formed by the government has been given the task of examining whether subsidization should, as at present, lie mainly in the repayment system or whether it should take the form of a grant awarded as part of the study assistance sum. The Central Study Assistance Committee has, for many years, put forward requests for changes which would lead to a reduction in the size of the debts incurred. We expect the Commission to suggest a substantially increased grant element. In the debate on study assistance, it has often been argued that "hidden grants" are ineffective in the sense that they only partly steer in the direction of the desired goals. A subsidy which is built into the repayment system does not, perhaps, have the same psychological effect as a grant, particularly one which the student receives during his/her studies.

As previously mentioned, the study assistance system has been of considerable importance in the development of higher education in Sweden. Research carried out by Sven-Eric Reuterberg and Allan Svensson at the Department of Education at Gothenburg University has provided evidence of the achievement of many positive effects. However, it has also been possible to establish that the system needs to be revised. Svensson shows that the future debts and the difficulty to live on study assistance causes many young people, particularly from the lower socio-economic groups, to refrain from commencing further education. In the case of most of those young people who want to enter higher education, there is very little choice open to them other than to avail themselves of study assistance. We know very little about how those in the older age groups view study assistance as a means of finance. However we believe that there are many adults who, whilst possessing the necessary motivation to study, would not consider using the loan system as a means of financing a study period.

One of the study assistance scheme's most important tasks is to contribute to a more equal socio-economic recruitment to higher education. The progress in this respect in Sweden, as in many other countries, is not entirely satisfactory. Although there are many different factors influencing the choice of further education, financial conditions are, undoubtedly, particularly important for young people and adults in the lower socio-economic groups. The opportunities for employment and the salary levels after graduation naturally come into play and study assistance is included in the student's calculation of the profitability of a particular degree or qualification. It is, therefore, important that study assistance, which is intended to remove financial barriers, is not itself, because of the form it takes, experienced as an obstacle.

In order to give a more complete picture of study assistance in Sweden, a compilation of the total expenditures for 1985/86 and the number of students obtaining assistance is presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Total Expenditure on Student Aid in the Budget Year 1985/86 by Categories and Numbers of Students.*

Type of Aid	Grants Million SEK	Loans Million SEK	Number of Students
Upper Secondary Level			
Study Assistance Students up to the age of 20	1 429,7	62,7	273 000
Study Assistance Students 20 years of age and older	76,5	1 013,0	54 000
Adult Study Assistance Persons with limited education and at least four years of gainful employment	566,0	143,6	23 000
Higher Education			
Study Assistance	205,2	2 837,0	117 000
Adult study Assistance Students in special vocational programme for technicians	29,6	10,4	900
Study Circles			
Hourly Study Assistance	63,0		55 000
Folk High Schools			
Daily Study Assistance	93,0		75 000
Basic Adult Education			
Hourly Compensation	53,9		18 000
Total (Million SEK)	2 516,9	4 066,7	616 000

Special Items and Administration costs	133,2	Million SEK
Total Expenditure	6 716,8	" "
Income: Loan repayments and similar	1 241,0	" "
Total Budget for Education 1985/86 Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs	38 097,0	" "

*)In addition to the study assistance expenditures shown here and administered by the Central Study Assistance Committee, a considerable sum is paid out for training people who are unemployed or who run the risk of becoming unemployed. These costs come under the Ministry of Labour's budget.[1)]

Note

1) A new governmental Bill on Study Finance has recently been presented to the Parliament (Prop 1987/88:116). Today, a student is entitled to SEK 37.410 for one academic year. Only SEK 2.200 of this sum is a grant. According to the new proposal, the total sum will be SEK 43.860, and more than 25 per cent will be a grant (SEK 12.900). Another change, is a more demanding system of repayment of the loans. Furthermore, it can be mentioned that the Swedish National Board of Student Aid has developed a new set of rules in order to better than previously direct the study assistance for shorter studies to neglected learners at the workplace.

PART THREE

EXPERIENCES AND LIFE-STUDIES OF ADULT LEARNERS

* Swedish Educational Reforms - Women's Life Stories - What Can They Tell About a Rational Reform Era?
  By Inga Elgqvist-Saltzman

* Who Cares About Adult Students in Swedish Higher Education?
  By Mona Bessman

* Risk and Renewal in Academia - on the Challenge of Blue- and White-Collar Workers in Higher Education.
  By Mona Bessman and Jan Holmer

* Recurrent Education and the Occupational Career
  By Albert Tuijnman

SWEDISH EDUCATIONAL REFORMS - WOMEN'S LIFE STORIES - WHAT CAN THEY TELL ABOUT A RATIONAL REFORM ERA?

By Inga Elgqvist-Saltzman
University of Umeå

- Can women's life stories be a tool in our striving towards a new pattern of recurrent education?

- Can women's life stories help us create a better understanding of societal determinants and of the educational impact of an increasing enrolment of adults in higher education?

- Can women's life stories provide insight into the process of social and technological change?

These were questions that crossed my mind when I read the background papers of this conference.

Before presenting my own paper, where I have used women's life stories to relate people's realities to ideas underlying reforms of higher education, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the majority of the adult students we are discussing here are women. Their experiences should therefore be important for further studies of adult education.

Let us have a look at the statistics illustrating women's participation in higher education in Sweden. Figure 1 shows registered students in higher education according to sex and age. As we can see, women are in majority, particularly among the mature students. However, at the post-graduate level the situation is quite different. At this level women only account for one third of all students.

If we examine the distribution of men and women across the five educational sectors of the Swedish system of higher education we find a very biased distribution.

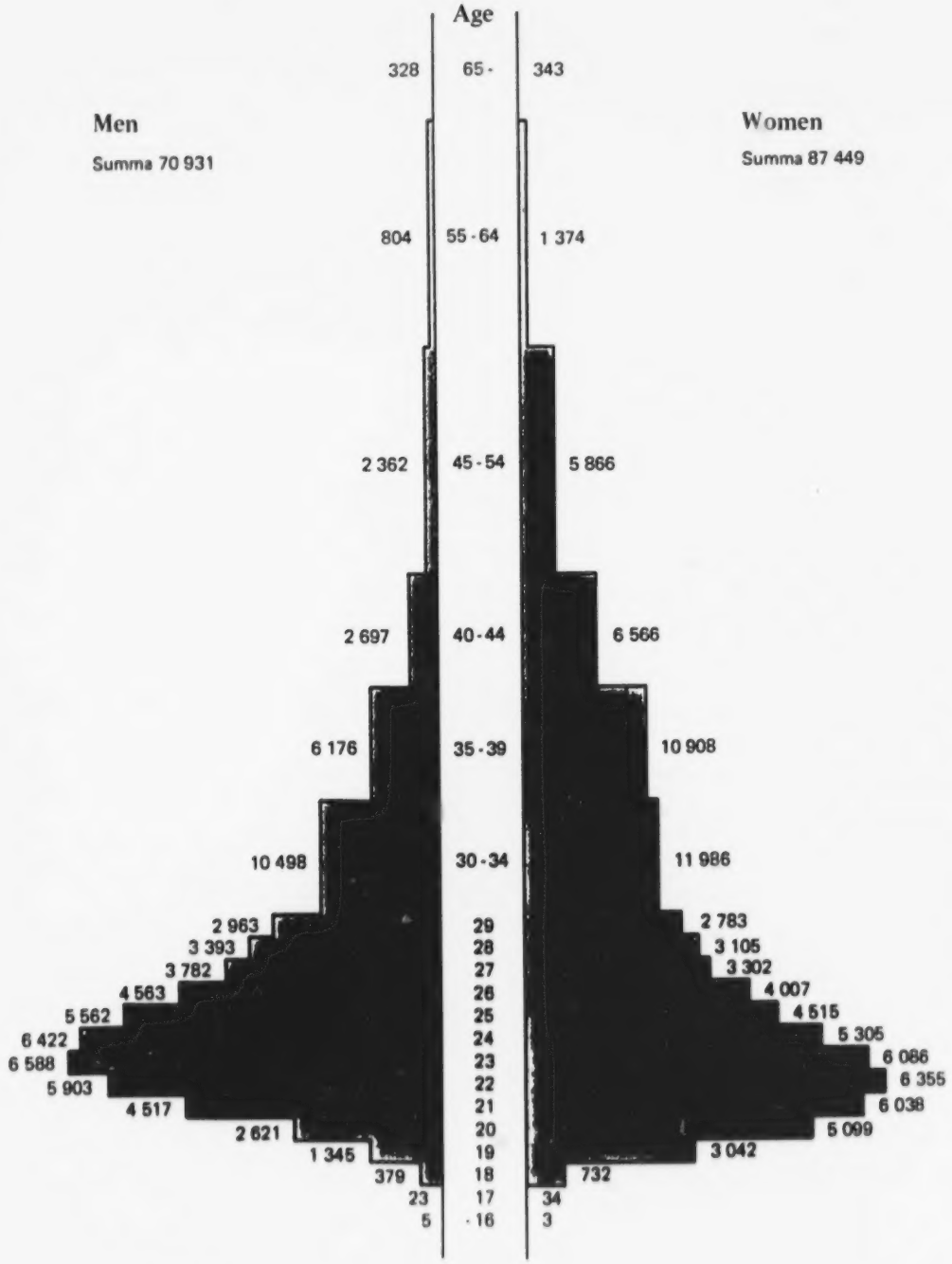
As in most other countries men dominate the technological sector, women dominate the medical, particularly the paramedical sector and even the educational sector itself. If we take a closer look at the different sectors we find a clear tendency among women to cluster around educational lines, particularly those leading to "caring work".

In spite of intense efforts in Sweden to obtain sexual equality we still have a men's and a women's side in the educational system. This corresponds to the current situation on the labor market. According to the latest report of the Equal Opportunities Secretariat there is one labor market for men and another for women. On the whole women can be found in some 30 occupations compared to men's 250. In addition to this women often work part-time.

In times of "constrained economic reality", when investments are mainly reserved for new technology - what happens to the educational study programmes where adult women form the majority? In the "jobless society" predicted by OECD, who will first become unemployed?

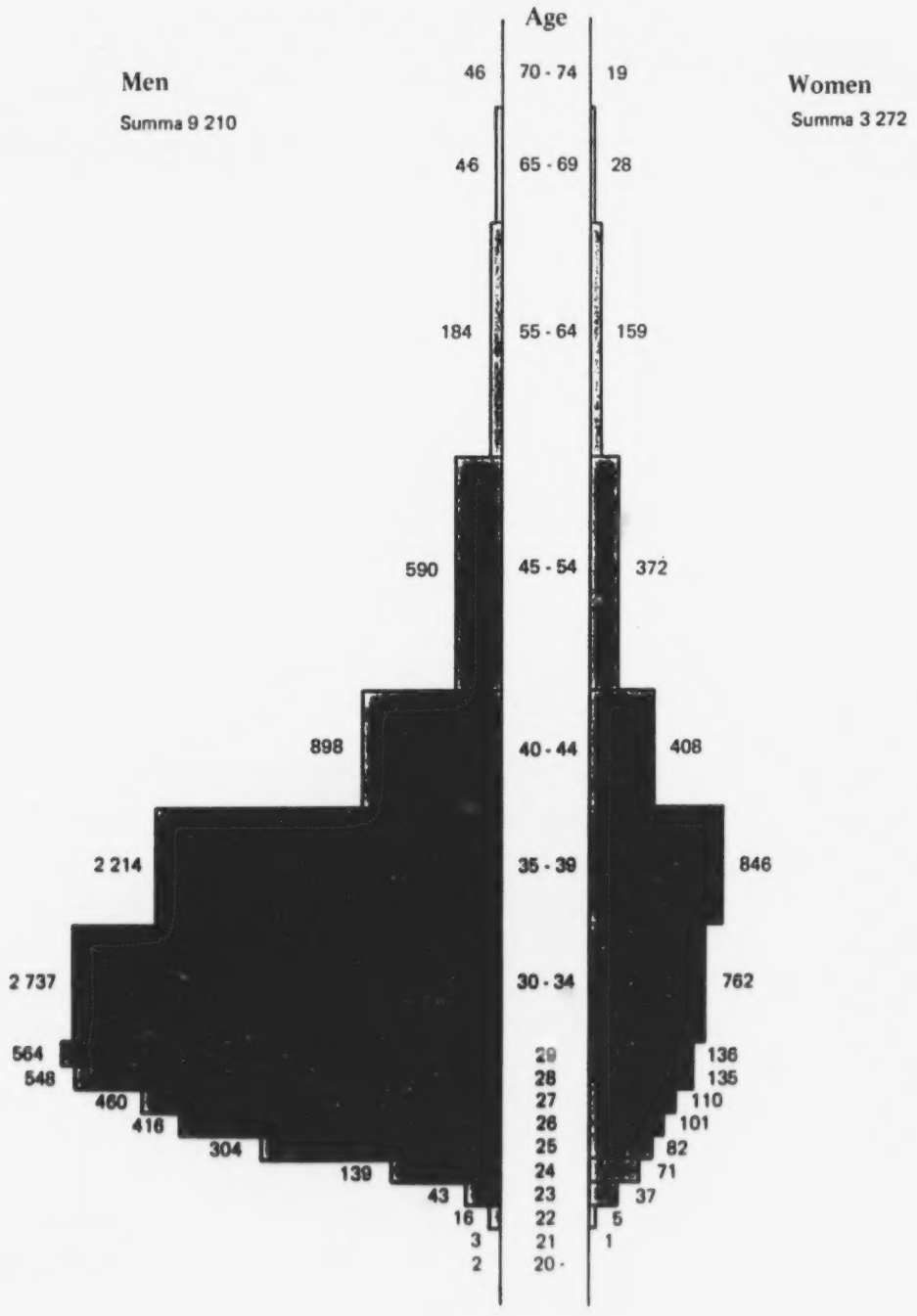
In the light of these facts women's reality is crucial to the discussion of problems relating to changing patterns of adult education - not only for the sake of women but for the whole society.

Figure 1. Students enrolled at the undergraduate level in higher education according to sex and age.



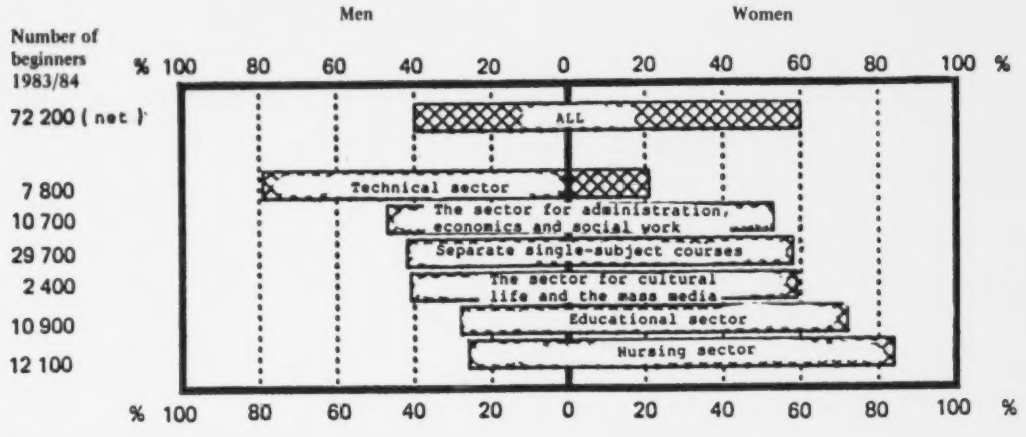
Source: SCB U 1983:13

Figure 2. Students enrolled at graduate level according to sex and age.



Source: SCB U 1983:13

Figure 3. Beginners in higher education by different sectors.


Men
Women
Number of beginners 1983/84
% 100 80 60 40 20 0 20 40 60 80 100 %
72 200 (net)
ALL
7 800
Technical sector
10 700
The sector for administration, economics and social work
29 700
Separate single-subject courses
2 400
The sector for cultural life and the mass media
10 900
Educational sector
12 100
Nursing sector
% 100 80 60 40 20 0 20 40 60 80 100 %

Source: Statistics Sweden (SCB). Higher education 1983/84.
Basic education: Beginners in the academic year of 1983/84.

As an educational researcher I am concerned with methods which make it possible to describe this reality and to understand the underlying reasons.

In my own work I have found a need for more profound analyses of the distribution of men and women across our study programmes, of drop-outs from education and of the flow from education to different sectors of the labor market. Swedish educational statistics are of great importance, but if we really want to get at the problems of equality in a deeper sense, the statistical data must be supplemented with qualitative analyses of the educational policy pursued, as well as of people's reality. A renewal of analytical models and approaches to theory is required!

In my paper I have described how I have used the life-story of a Swedish teacher, Karin, 38 years of age, as a tool in my own research work in order to grasp the ideas behind as well as the everyday reality of Swedish women. In a way Karin's own description of her educational and vocational career is a good illustration of the ambitions as well as the shortcomings of Swedish reform work. The time will not allow me to quote Karin in detail. Let me instead give you a glimpse of the work of which Karin's life story forms an important part.

In the IOR-project, I have tried to analyse how ideas about equality, efficiency and relevance in the reform work of higher education have been carried out in real life for some actors at various levels of the educational system. In my efforts to grasp this reality, I have worked with a step-wise model starting with statistical analyses of three cohorts of students graduating from secondary school during the period of expansion experienced in the 1950s and 1960s.

The model used implies that quantitative flow-analyses have been combined with qualitative studies of women's career patterns and life stages.

In a short questionnaire one central item was the "life-line question" in which women were asked to mark on a time line when they had got their education, when they had been working or staying at home. On the same time line they were asked to mark important events in their lives, e.g. child births, marriages, divorces etc.

This question allowed us to analyse the "life-patterns" of social groups. With the help of a computer, these life-lines could be adapted to graphically display differences between educational, social and regional groups.

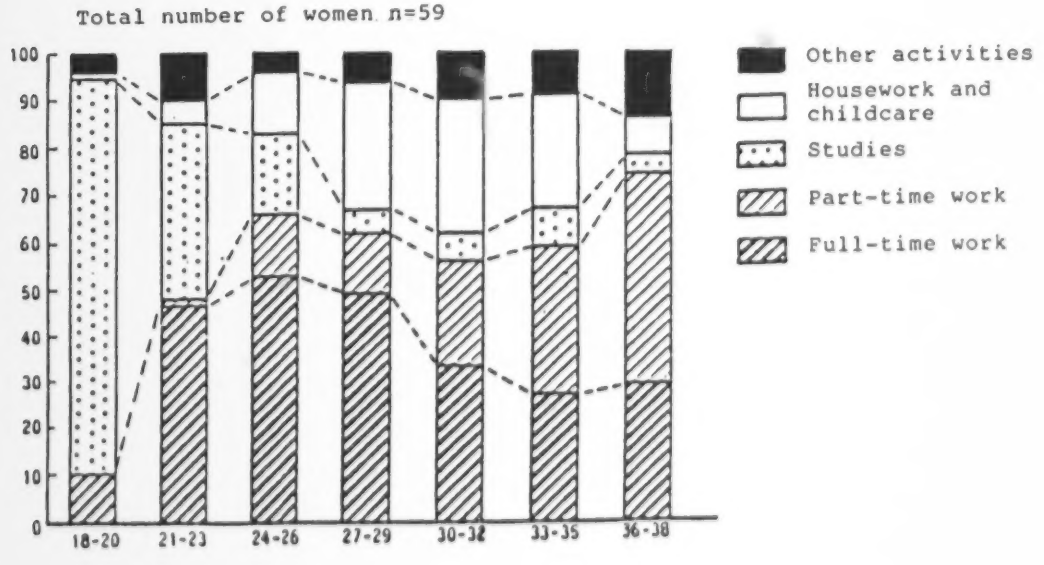
Figure 4 illustrates the pattern of a so-called "drop-out group". Characteristic of this women's group is that its members start working half-time before they have finished their education. The amount of domestic and part-time work increases when their children are born. But the women continue to work part-time when their children are growing up. And their studies cover their whole life-span in a pattern of recurrent education. So it is not correct to simply define these women as drop-outs, an impression which can otherwise be obtained by statistical analyses.

Figure 5 shows a life-line at the individual level.

The figure illustrates the life-line of a woman, 36 years of age, at the time of the questionnaire. This woman has three children and she has during her life-time changed between education, productive work and homework. In this context her future plans are quite interesting. As the figure shows, she intends to divide her time between education, productive work and homework. We may wonder if this is the new pattern of recurrent education?

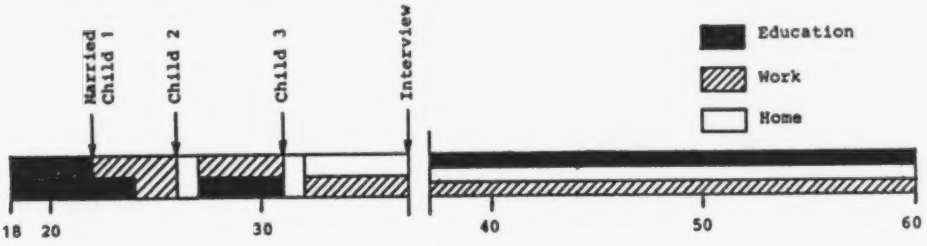
In our model, the life-line question became the starting-point for the next step. In seven case studies we asked women to tell us more about their educational and vocational histories. Some wrote, some told us in interviews and now we have about 30 life-stories.

Figure 4. "The life-line", average employment, study and home activity of the women aged 18-38 years in a "drop-out group". Per cent.



Source: Carlsson, V-A. and Hjelm-Ström. A. (1984), Verkligheten bakom en grupp universitets-/högskolestuderande kvinnors studieavbrott. C1-uppsats. Department of Education, University of Umeå.

Figure 5. The life-line of a Swedish woman.



Our case studies focused on one of the following three questions:

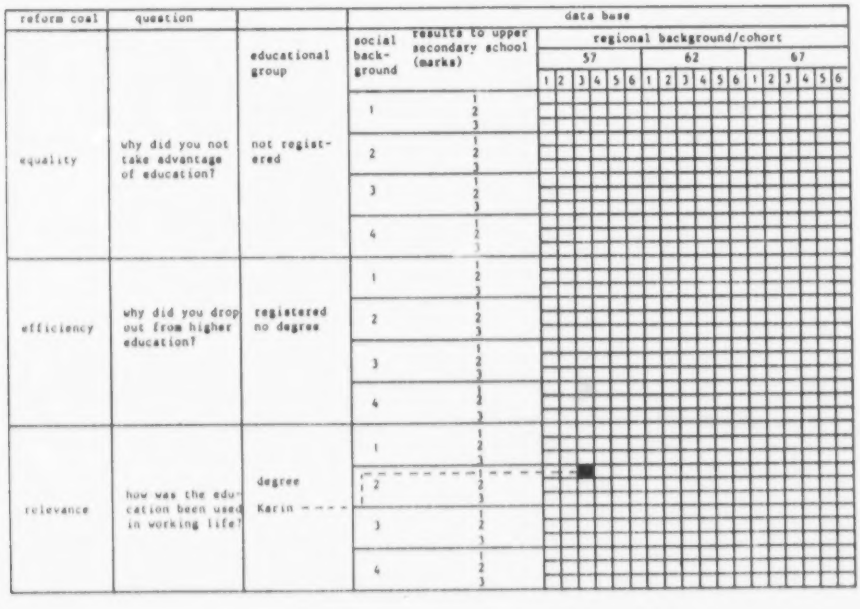
- Why did some women with very good grades from secondary school not enroll in higher education?
- Why did some women drop out?
- How do women with university degrees use their education in working life?

Owing to the development of a database within the project, individual life-stories could always be related to a regional, social and educational context. Figure 6 shows that these life-stories could also be related to the three questions raised earlier in relation to the goals of the higher education reforms.

Karin's story highlights the difference in values between two segments of the labor market; namely the paid versus the unpaid and the productive versus the reproductive. Her story focuses on the children's place in modern society where both men and women have the right and opportunity to education and to an interesting working life. Karin finished her life story with the following words:

> **"There is a constant risk that the life that could make you a whole human being making use of your full potential, can be reversed, so that the too many different demands make you a disharmonius, divided person."**

Figure 6. A life-story in the IOR-model.



In the IOR-project we found that the life patterns of the three women cohorts were similar in spite of their different backgrounds. Most of them had chosen typical "female professions", most of them worked part-time, only a few could be found in non-traditional female professions and very few in leading positions in society. Their concerns about their difficulties in making use of the courses offered made us raise the question: Have the reforms of higher education focused so strongly on adjusting education to demands of productive work that other life roles have been overlooked?

What were our women's attitudes towards education? Education was generally described as something positive with a great potential for change. Education seemed to have different functions in different periods of time. After leaving upper secondary school most women were in a hurry to acquire an education giving them a foothold in professional life before marrying and having children. When the children were small the education was often seen as a smaller spare-time activity to other life roles so that it would be easier to adjust it to the family situation. This often resulted in a lowering of the professional ambition. When the children were growing up the women tried to get an education leading to a meaningful work, where they could also make use of their life experience.

I learned that educational choices have to be studied as the result of complex interactions where a network of social relations can be traced. They have to be studied not only in a life-line perspective but also in a generational perspective.

In my current research work I try together with some 15 nordic women researchers in our network 'HEKLA' to compare women's educational behaviour and their way of thinking with thought-patterns appearing in the educational planning process exercized in our different nordic countries. We have so far found essential differences while our educational planners have tried to construct straight roads through the

	Rational educational planning	women´s reality
Education =	straight roads	winding roads
Choice of education =	individual choices	"relation choices", i.e. in relation to people in the background environment and surrounding group
Women´s choice of education	irrational	rational, when other life roles are made visible
Relevance =	in relation to profession and labour market	in relation to various life phases - various life roles

educational system, women seem to choose winding roads in order to get time for reproductive tasks. While the choice of education in educational policy is regarded as an individual choice, where everyone should be able to choose according to ability and interest, the women often reported that their educational and vocational choices had been a kind of relational choice, related to human beings dependent on them and to their life stages.

So instead of - which so often is the case - considering women's educational behaviour to be irrational, it can be made to "make sense". That is, it is rational when all life-roles are made visible.

It is my experience that women's life stories can give educational researchers new perspectives which are important if we want to understand differences between ideas and realities experienced by women and planners. These perspectives are important if we like to work towards new patterns of recurrent education.

WHO CARES ABOUT THE ADULT STUDENTS IN SWEDISH HIGHER EDUCATION?

By Mona Bessman
University of Stockholm

With the help of my colleagues, the educational consultants in the different colleges and universities in Sweden, I will try to give a glimpse of the meeting between teachers and adult students. Does it really occur? Are the adult students visible?

ADULT STUDENTS - A RISK OR A RESOURCE?

If you ask university teachers - at random as I did a few weeks ago: Are the adult students a risk or a resource in your courses? - practically all of them will answer: 'What adult students? What do you mean?' - When I explain in terms of 'older than 25 years of age and with some years of work experience' - they will say: 'Oh yes, of course, there is a tendency of the students growing older every year - but on the other hand - lately, there are quite a lot of young ones coming straight from upper secondary school again...

The issue of adult students and their experience and special demands on teaching is not a main issue for most academic teachers. Actually, tuition as a whole is not a main issue. So far most academic teachers see their research work as the primary goal in their work - that is what has counted in the competition for jobs. The teaching work has counted much less.

That does not mean that university teachers should lack interest in their pedagogical mission. Many are indeed committed to facilitating students' learning, but time is limited. As one of the teachers said: 'We don't really know very much about the students, we can see that some of them are older of course. But the students are presented to us 'in bundles' - we get groups of 30-40 people and meet them 5-10 times, and then they disappear. If we have two or three groups like that during a semester, there is not much of a chance of getting into close contact...'

TEACHING - A PRIVATE ACTIVITY

Anyway, I will try to give an outline of what has happened to adult students and the teaching they are exposed to - life in the seminar room. We don't know very much about this, as teaching is a very private activity.

When I was a teacher in Education, we managed to devise a sort of team teaching - we worked in pairs, and could plan our teaching together and comment on each other. This was very gratifying, when we had overcome the instant feeling of horror - to let a colleague into the seminar was just awful to begin with. We did not have the same feeling about the 30 students - most of them adults and very well educated and experienced in many fields. They did not bother us because they were students - and our role as teachers was a security and a shield against them. But to let another teacher into the room, to watch and see what errors we might make, that was indeed very threatening.

Within the program of educational development in Sweden, we sometimes

visit teachers in their work and videotape their teaching. The tape is analyzed together with the teacher and sometimes some other teachers. But this is a rather low-key activity.

WHAT HAPPENS IN THE SEMINARS?

What we know about teachers and students in the seminar is mere hearsay. We can argue, with good reason, and some research to support us, that the students meet a situation that is heavily loaded with tradition, and not much reflected on by the teachers. As a teacher you tend to do the same thing as you yourself met as a student. You take over the routines and traditions and transform them to the next generation.

We can also state as a fact that time planning and teaching is still in many cases founded on the disinformation that students are young, single, childless, and study full-time. In reality this pattern does not exist - students today are a mixed group, and many of them take studying as a rather marginal activity in life...

Apart from this, the contents of the courses taken are more often than not based on the idea of gradual escalation from elementary studies - basic knowledge - to research work. This often reduces the basic courses to rather uninteresting preparatory stages. The adult students, who come to the university with their complex, everyday questions and problems, want knowledge that is relevant to those problems. They also put questions that are usually not possible to answer within the limits of the basic course - and perhaps not even within the limits of the subject...

So we have to teach the adult students to put the right questions. Those possible questions very often are a far cry from the interest that brought the student to the course in the first place. And they are told that those complicated questions might - if they are lucky - appear on the schedule after 3 semesters of full study - or 6 semesters of part-time studies. Of course many give up their ambitions.

Another anomaly for the adult students, is the examination form. Most of the examination - especially in basic courses - focusses on achievement control and easily corrected rote learning. The younger students have often been trained in that sort of examination quite recently in upper secondary school. In fact the young students often require that type of examination - they want to know 'what's coming in the test' and they demand 'the right answers' from the teachers - whereas the older students have their experience of life and work, and know that knowledge is more complicated than that.

Finally, as an adult student you may experience a sort of juvenilazation when approaching the university teaching situation - you let yourself be put back into the school years again. It is as if ten or twenty years of your life just disappeared, and thus you also let go of responsibility. This may turn into a relationship between teacher and students that can be called mutual corruption. As long as the students are well behaved, rather passive and only ask such (good) questions which are possible to answer, then the teacher will fulfill the contract by telling the students what is important to know in order to pass the examination. This sort of harmonious balance you will find in many study-groups, and it involves all ages. This is an obstacle to developing the teaching process into a more vital procedure, where you could take into consideration the experience of the adult students.

Have the Adult Students in Sweden Influenced Learning and Teaching in Higher Education?

We put three questions to the educational consultants in Swedish universities and colleges/institutes:

1. 'Are there - in your opinion - any examples of systematic efforts to use the experience of adult students in the teaching?'

2. 'Has the high proportion of adult students influenced the learning milieu and the teaching climate, the choice of literature etc., at your university/college? Is there a difference between separate courses and general study programs and between different locations?'

3. Has the high ratio of adult students resulted in changes in recruitment to post-graduate studies?

Three answers were possible: No, not at all - Yes, to some extent, and Yes, definitely.

The answers to the first and second question hover between 'No, not at all' and 'Yes, to som extent'. The answers to the last question vary between 'No, not at all' and 'don't know'. (See Figure 1).

Examples of Systematic Efforts to Use the Experience of the Adult Students in Teaching

It is of course not possible to give a general answer to the questions raised. In the technical sector very little or nothing at all has been done for the adult students; In teacher education and in several courses inside the faculty of social sciences you can find that quite a lot has happened.

The 1977 reform occurred when the number of traditional students decreased, so the departments had no real alternative but to put together separate courses for the new group - the older students.

And thus we have a lot of in-service-training for 'new groups' - e.g. non-traditional groups for the faculties of social sciences, like nurses studying sociology. They have the traditional study-background, though, i.e. upper-secondary schooling, but you did not find that particular group studying those subjects before the reform of 1977. Physicians and nurses are still apt to take up further studies - but they tend to choose 'trendy' subjects.

In local settings, non-traditional groups were recruited among trade-unionists, among members of various associations, and among people interested in social questions and various leisure-time activities. An example of a study-course for those groups is 'economics for the labour market'.

In 1974-75 some pilot courses started in employment law and in work environment. Among the students were quite a few with only 6-7 years of elementary schooling. They have since influenced the contents of those courses - which have subsequently been broadcast on Swedish TV.

At the same time, the so-called 'research-circles' were introduced. These were further developed since and are now well established in the annual study program. In these courses the adult students' work experience has influenced the contents to a great extent.

This development is not so much a question of individual adult students' wishes or outspoken interest, but rather a consequence of the demands put forward by strong organizations: The Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) for one - and the school system for another (recurrent education for teachers on the elementary and secondary levels).

But all this happens within the limits regulated by the traditions of higher education and its own interest. When there are few 'normal' young students, then we are apt to listen to the demands of new groups. But those new groups are the first to get thrown out when 'normalicy' is recovered!

You could say that an adult-student oriented effort would be the distance-programs, but it was mere luck that they happened to suit the adults - they were not systematically planned for that group. There is no real discussion so far as to the principle of how the adult students' experience could be utilized in tuition.

IMPACT OF ADULT STUDENTS ON SWEDISH HIGHER EDUCATION

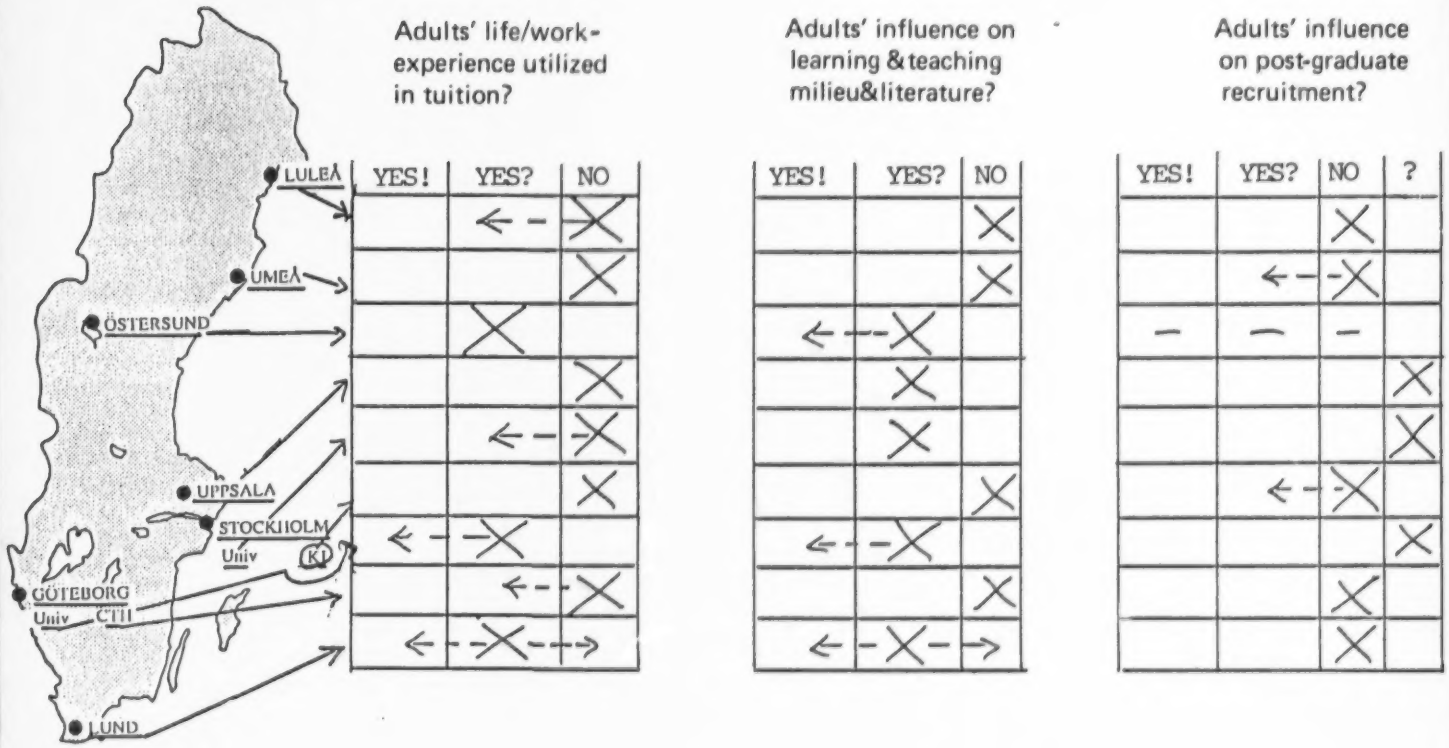


Figure 1. The above summarized guestions were answered by educational consultants at five universities, two schools of advanced technology, one school of medicin and one medium-size college.

There is a local development program which includes a study of the distance-students' background and motives. Some of the results might be useful to the teaching situation.

In some separate courses there are project-bases studies. The students can then penetrate problems from their own work-background.

The teachers often try to 'set the adult students back to zero' rather than use their job-experience. But on the other hand - individual teachers can often be very ambitious - perhaps because there is no official university policy.

You can find some commissioned short courses (2-5 points) that are very popular - and they are tailor-made for special 'target-groups'. For example, taxation law and business administration).

In some courses there is good contact between the departments and working life (for instance in nursing education and in education for social work where job experience is a requirement for admission).

In the traditional faculties it is also possible to find some systematic and planned changes from which the adult students may benefit. One example is the FORUM for interdisciplinary studies - separate courses in business administration - courses in history and in ethnology - special courses for museum curators.

Distance-programs and commissioned courses are well-established in several subjects. In these fields there has been a great change for the adult students during the last 10-15 years - but there is a lot more to be done.

Has the High Proportion of Adult Students Influenced the Learning Environment and the Teaching Climate, the Choice of Literature etc...?

The answers to this second question about learning environment and teaching climate, choice of literature, tend to be somewhat more optimistic. Evening-classes, distance-courses, project-based studies are mentioned. But no-one thinks that the literature has changed as a consequence of the adult group.

Teaching has changed especially in separate courses where evening classes and week-end courses have been introduced, as well as distance-programs and a lot of independent studying.

There has been a great demand for evening classes and 'part-time' schedules. This grew into the development of a distance-program of the 'near-distance' type, which served the adult students' need to use their time more freely. Where literature is concerned, we had a debate in the 1970's about the students' demand that all literature should be in Swedish, but this has now turned all the way round - for instance in biology all literature is now in English.

A problem with the evening classes is that many of them are 'dead-ends'. They include 10 or 20 points but there are no intermediate courses following.

No regular study has been made but you can find local courses in municipal economy and administration where the adult students' interests have been considered in the choice of literature.

In some courses the 'small talk' in the corridors between the students working together in small groups, may have changed. The discussions are perhaps influenced by the older students' work and life experience, but this 'just happens' - it is not planned.

Has the High Ratio of Adult Students Resulted in Changes in Recruitment to Post-graduate Studies?

The adult students seldom apply to post-graduate levels - and in the new colleges there is no post-graduate education. Most answers refer to lack of knowledge about the situation.

If you ask some teachers they will say that the adult student group had a negative influence. When the 'boom' came in the late 1970's only 20 per cent of the students came directly from upper secondary school. Perhaps the interest was low then in further studies - one has to be young and free to work like a slave for a low salary. But now we have a 50 per cent intake from the upper-secondary school at the same time as the retention rate with regard to post-graduate studies has increased.

One interesting issue that some teachers have noticed is that among the older students going to medical research, there are several that put up 'new questions' for research in the preclinical area. They come back from the clinic courses, with their earlier experiences reformulated. It seems that they have been able to deepen and develop their practical knowledge - and they compose different research topics compared to the younger students!

RISK AND RENEWAL IN ACADEMIA
ON THE CHALLENGE OF BLUE- AND WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS IN SWEDISH HIGHER EDUCATION

By Mona Bessman and Jan Holmer
University of Gothenburg

Whatever happens in the future of Swedish higher education, it seems highly probable that adult students will be of considerable importance. But - what groups of adult students will be welcomed in the future? Will there be room for a broader clientèle, such as that mentioned above?

Social and sexual equality were among the salient points of the Swedish reform of higher education, one of its aims being to reach people who do not enter higher education and are not reached by it, due to impediments of various kinds. These impediments may be concerned with tradition or cognitive background, status in the production process, material circumstances generally or the accessibility or content of education. The intention was for education to strengthen these people's resources and their prospects of exerting influence at work and in the community at large. Ten years have now passed since the reform was initiated. In other words, for ten years there should now have existed opportunities of creating a higher education system relevant to the majority of the national population, as opposed to a higher education system for the élite.

This is not the place to attempt a description of the results achieved in the past ten years. The number of adult students has grown. Over 60 per cent of undergraduates are over 25 years old, and they include, the "25:4's", adults aged over 25 and with at least 4 years' work experience. These students tend mainly to go in for single-subject courses. The current system of admissions gives them general eligibility for higher education. Many of them are admitted on grounds of this kind, but in reality they have also completed their upper secondary schooling (or the equivalent). The genuine 25:4's are relatively few in number. So although some kind of recurrent education pattern can be sensed, social justice has not been achieved. Nor does the fact that more than half of all first-time enrollees are women imply that there has been any shift in the patriarchal structure and knowledge content of higher education.

The adult students admitted by the higher education system have been those who have fitted into the picture. They could equally well have entered as young students on a previous occasion, if it had not been for "missing the boat". The higher education reform and the favourable adult education climate of the 1970s gave them a second chance. But the higher education system did not have to change appreciably because of their admission.

Instead we want to shed light on the group of adult students who did not 'as a matter of course' enter higher education previously. Those who often have a different outlook and expectations where higher education is concerned and whose very presence can come as a challenge to received views. They often have what is termed 'an affective detachment' from higher education. Given the opportunity, they can make demands on the content of education and the conduct of teaching which

would galvanize the higher education system. That was the idea, but only in exceptional cases has anything come of it.

What conditions have to be met in order for this challenging group of adult students to be able to share in the knowledge present in the higher education system? What adjustments are needed in order for their participation to be capable of enriching themselves and the traditions of higher education? We propose to speculate here on these questions, with reference to recruitment, educational objectives and the teaching situation.

PRECONDITIONS OF RENEWAL

As we see it, there are two ways (and they are not mutually exclusive) in which the knowledge possessed by the higher education system can also be put to greater use for the benefit of these adult student categories. One way is through the education taking place within the regular higher education system and through agencies and regulations systematically applying to higher education. Another presupposes a greater proportion of financial resources reaching the higher education system through renewal funds, external funding, commissioned education and suchlike. This can be viewed partly against the background of the transformation of working life by new techniques and the educational needs thus generated.

The first way has proved only marginally feasible for active trade unionists. Events have shown that just opening the doors of higher education to new groups is not enough. The people who come in - and stay - are those who already have education. The policy that aims to harnessing talent, meeting the requirements of the labour market and putting the right man in the right place tends to 'neutralize' distributive aspirations. The latter must therefore be more strongly emphasized in directions and guidelines (assuming the politicians really want to achieve something in this direction). But instead of funding being regulated in detail from the top, it would be possible for resources to be allocated on condition that higher education establishments actually substantiated efforts of this kind, e.g. through their budget requests and annual reports.

This implies management by objectives instead of management by detailed instructions. It would then be for decision-makers at all levels of the higher education system to decide and devise suitable means of achieving the predefined ends. Higher education establishments themselves would then have to decide in what way, if at all, they wanted to reach the groups concerned by means of information, recruitment, funding, admissions, the courses offered and so on.

Bridging the Gap to Studies and Education

The other, and possibly supplementary way is as follows. In connection with the changes occurring in the employment sector, demands for (higher) education could also be made for the benefit of the groups with which we are here concerned. The relationship to working life can be a pivotal factor in recruiting, for example, the undereducated to education. Education in paid working hours eliminates loss of earnings as a threshold for willingness to participate. Admission requirements are rendered inoperative (or at all events need not be rigorously implemented). Furthermore, teaching can be provided near the workplace, which can make a great deal of difference both physically (time and energy) and psychologically (familiar surroundings).

Many people, though, have an affective detachment from education which influences their level of aspiration and their objectives. This can be put down to childhood conditions and productive status prompting different expectations and demands in different groups. Lack of knowledge of supportive benefits have to be subordinated to this

affective detachment as factors accounting for educational recruitment difficulties.

Nor are the usefulness and value of an education necessarily viewed in identical terms, even in ostensibly homogeneous groups. Views can differ, for example, as between senior and junior white-collar workers, white-collar and blue-collar workers, skilled and unskilled workers and individuals within these various groups. Skilled workers may among other things associate education with career opportunities outside the enterprise, unskilled workers may associate it with learning in the factory, i.e. something firmly connected to a particular working situation within the enterprise.

Certain groups, therefore, may need educating in order to commit themselves to education!

But apart from the unwillingness of these potential students to take part in education, there are several factors of uncertainty attaching to the development process which might swell the recruitment of "new student categories" and tailor education to their requirements. One factor is the impact of changes and new techniques in working life on the organization of production and on employees, e.g. in the lower echelons. Another is the view taken by those responsible for personnel management and development of education, especially education for the groups referred to here. A third factor concerns the preparedness and competence of higher education and its teachers. A fourth concerns the actions taken by the trade unions.

The attitude to education where these people are concerned may be a critical point in this context. Here, possibly, there are views concerning education which do not far transcend the immediate, an attitude merely confirming what many people, the unskilled among them, already feel about education, and which is thus part of the reason why their situation does not change. This narrowly instrumental view of education is probably not uncommon among the above mentioned decision-makers and others. But, given a wider view of the content and objectives of education, changes in the organization of work, for example, could provide motivation and opportunity for giving (higher) education a try.

What preparedness is there for this type of adjustment to adult students, with their unconventional capacities and demands?

The Hidden Curriculum of Higher Education - a Threat to Adult Students?

Adult students come up against an educational situation which is none too cogently conceived and, moreover, characterized by unquestioned routines and traditions. A number of preconditions are involved which are not at all designed for adult post-secondary students:

* Teaching, more often than not, is based on the supposition of full-time studies being the normal practice, whereas adults almost invariably study part time.

* The content of teaching is based on the idea of gradual escalation from elementary studies to research training, which often reduces the basic courses to uninteresting preparatory stages. Adult students like to make complex, everyday problems a starting point of their studies, only to be told that this will (at best) be possible after three terms' full-time studies (or six terms if they are studying half time...) Most adults do not take that many courses in one and the same subject.

* Examinations concentrate on achievement control, mostly in terms of easily corrected rote learning. Adult students are best at assimilating meaningful knowledge. relatable to things which they have already mastered.

* The relationship between students and teacher can be described as one of 'mutual corruption', in that so long as the students are passive and only ask the teacher questions which he (or she) is able to answer, the teacher will be active in explaining to the students what they will be expected to know in their written examination ... In other words. the students are (and allow themselves to be) treated like children and the teacher is (and allows himself to be) treated as the sole adult. Adult students have narrower margins for coping with this infantilization than 20-year-olds coming straight from school. Either they become completely passive - 20-year-olds are more disposed to rebellion - or else they drop out of the education.

* Higher education representatives and people coming from the category with 'an affective detachment' from higher education have different views of reality and knowledge. This can be a fruitful confrontation if teachers do not fight shy of it, and if they have the courage to challenge their own world pictures and those of the adult students. Challenges of this kind are needed if higher studies are to benefit adult students. The educational interest entertained by adults focuses on the individual development facilitated by studies rather than on the credential value of studies as a means of achieving promotion and better pay.

* Most higher education teachers have had no teacher training, and so interest in pedagogical achievement has been poorly rewarded hitherto. A change is in the offing, however, now that teaching proficiency is being made to carry more credential value in the filling of appointments and fixing of salaries. Teachers cannot adjust to the situation of adult students without taking an interest in their pedagogical mission.

If higher education is to have anything to offer students of adult age, there will have to be a change in the pedagogical situation. Let us round off this section with a sketch of ideas.

Adult Work Experience and Ways of Life as a Point of Departure - Concluding Remarks

Start with job-related demands regarding the content of studies - thematic rather than disciplinary headings for courses. The syllabus must afford scope for varying content and organization, so that courses can be tailored both to the interests of any outside clients and to the participants' descriptions of their jobs, experiences and preferences.

Education can then be primarily linked to a particular working situation. The next step is a teaching content putting work experience in a new perspective by relating the participants' working situation to a wider context (production, economics technology but also environment, culture and other human values).

Students might, for example, learn to understand how their own work is connected with various general issues of working and social life. Education of this kind can help to activate the groups concerned, resulting in a growth of resources and opportunities. The latter can mean (greater) interest in taking part in the recurrent education programmes offered by the higher education system.

Make agreements - contracts - embracing goals, time-tabling and working procedures, and sort out the allocation of responsibilities between teacher and students. Organize teaching as a distance variant which leaves reasonable scope for the extramural lives of adult students; for example, lectures and seminars gathered into a couple of meetings per month and study groups set up to meet or communicate with each other in-between the seminars.

In other words, make post-secondary studies a project for all concerned, both teachers and students. In the long run this will benefit young students as well.

Higher education can turn commissioned education into an opportunity of developing new forms of knowledge transfer and production. There is scope here for educational experimentation and renewal, but this will require the representatives of higher education to stand their ground and assert their autonomy. 'Liberty of mind' and a quest for knowledge, transcending the narrow bounds of decision-making within which commissioned education is liable to be constrained, are necessary preconditions. In fact it is this very surmounting of concrete vocational knowledge which can be made to epitomize higher education in the minds of adult students.

Notes

Mona Bessman, educational consultant at the University of Stockholm and formerly responsible for the courses in Adult Education at the Department of Education, University of Stockholm. R&D-reports: Preparation for Higher Education; Distance Education - a matter of time.

Jan Holmer. Employed in the central administration of the University of Göteborg and responsible for the evaluation of courses and programmes. R&D-projects, thesis: The Swedish University Provision for Further Education for Blue- and White-Collar Industrial Workers.

RECURRENT EDUCATION AND THE OCCUPATIONAL CAREER

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ABSTRACT

Consistent with previous research on the process of social differentiation and status attainment, the results indicate that acquired level of youth education is a major determinant of occupational status in early, mid and late career. The direct effect of youth education, though persistent, gradually decays through the later stages of occupational career. Particularly in mid and late career, the effects of youth education become increasingly mediated as indirect effects through both obtained adult education and previous occupational attainments. The effect of adult education on occupational status increases substantially from age 35 to 52. Adult education not only mediates but also reinforces the otherwise declining direct effects of youth education, including tertiary education, on occupational status. If adult education apparently does not contribute much to the variance explained in occupational status when youth education is controlled, participation in job-related adult education none the less seems to confer knowledge and skills of relevance to the acquisition of jobs with a higher responsibility and prestige level. The probability of acquiring adult education is significantly greater the higher the level of initial educational attainment.

1. INTRODUCTION

During the past couple of decades, the expansion of formal adult education has been central to Swedish reform work in the field of education. The concept of recurrent education, as formulated in the context of developmental problems confronting the emerging welfare model in the 1960s, reflects the general societal welfare concerns that permeate most domains of social policy. In Sweden, the rationales for recurrent education are specified in terms of economic, legal, political and cultural development objectives of the state. The motives for Swedish recurrent education are also expressed in terms of life-span development objectives.

According to Swedish Parliament, adult education in a system of post-mandatory education is to reduce the gaps in educational attainment between generations, to further democratic principles in society, to augment the cultural awareness of citizens, to contribute to economic development, to supply the labor market with well-educated and trained labor, to contribute to realizing full employment, and to help achieve a more flexible distribution of work, education and leisure across the phases of adult life. The motive for redistributing education, work and leisure relates first and foremost to the enhancement of self-perceived welfare - that is, to improving the objective and subjective conditions of living. Improved welfare, either in terms of career mobility, economic benefits or in relation to participation as an end in itself without prior thought of economic advantage, constitutes the principal rationale for recurrent education.

With a view to the width of the goals stated for the system of post-school education, it would seem important to

estimate the extent to which formal schooling and adult education affect life chances in Swedish society.

2. AIMS OF THE STUDY

Over the years, a number of investigations have attempted to measure the effect of education on the status attainment process. The results of several of these are flawed by limitations arising from the exclusion of adult education and from the use of non-longitudinal data sets. The point of departure for this study is the assumption that it is crucial to isolate the eventual effects of youth education from the possible effects of adult education. The purpose of this study is to measure the quality of adult education obtained by the male respondents of the Malmö Study over a twenty-five year period. By relating these indicators of acquired adult education to youth educational attainment and to measures of occupational status, the study aims at estimating the effects of career-related adult education and training on occupational achievement.

3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

A vast amount of literature has gradually come about with a focus on models examining the process through which social class and cognitive ability become converted into career achievement by means of educational attainment (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Fägerlind 1975; Jencks et al., 1979; Behrman et al. 1980; Halsey et al., 1980; Ganzeboom, 1984; and Tuijnman, 1986).

Although the field abounds with theoretical analyses of the effects of forms of adult education and personnel training on the economy, the labor market and on career prospects of individuals, empirical studies are less frequently found. Mincer (1962) and Becker (1975) found that the economic returns to various forms of post-school on-the-job and in-service training were very similar to the benefits of youth education. Stolzenberg (1975a and 1975b) concludes that personnel training is a major factor in explaining differences in age-earnings profiles between workers with similar educational backgrounds. In examining the screening theory using occupational data, Stiglitz (1975) and Riley (1979) inlcuded some measures of personnel training and work experience in their model of analysis. Their findings confirm the importance of post-school learning for occupational mobility and earnings. Featherman and Hauser (1978) studied the careers of seven birth cohorts of men ranging in age from 20-24 to 61-65. The findings showed that the direct effects of formal education, although persistently strong, gradually decrease through the later phases of the career cycle. At these later stages, the effects of educational variables were increasingly mediated through previous occupations (Hardy, 1984). It must be noted that, though considerable variation is observed in the structural characteristics of status attainment research undertaken so far, a comparison of findings of studies on the relative importance of education for occupational achievement has so far revealed both a remarkable degree of constancy over time and substantial cross-national similarities (i.e. Grusky, 1983). Critical reactions against the status attainment approach, which in effect redefined social mobility research as being concerned with the process of occupational prestige acquisition, has become more pronounced in recent years (Goldthorpe, 1984).

The inclusion of measures of adult education as intervening variables in path models investigating the relationships between social background, ability, youth education and status attainment is underutilized. Among the few early studies are Devlin (1970) and Cookson (1978). Recently, Jones and Davis (1986) included a proxy of acquired adult education in a structural model examining the status attainment process among 398 Australian men belonging to the 1973 labor force survey. The authors found a significant effect coefficient (.21) for the path leading from the indicator of adult education

(measuring years of post-school training) to occupational achievement. Childhood predictors such as father's and mother's education, father's job status and family wealth, in combination with formal schooling, explained only two per cent of the variance in career-related adult education (Jones and Davis, 1986:132).

4. THEORY AND MODEL

The resource conversion theory (Coleman, 1971; and Fägerlind, 1975) offers a focus to research on the processes whereby personality and environmental resources are converted into job status by means of educational attainment. The theory contends that the resources a person has access to during childhood, such as family resources and personality assets, become converted mainly through the "front-end" educational system into marketable assets. The theory assumes that adult educational attainment adds to this process.

A resource conversion model typically begins with proxies of the environmental assets of the family of origin, such as class, education, and wealth. Cognitive ability, as affected by genetic and environmental factors, offers a measure of personality structure. The conversion of family assets into personality resources is assumed to occur as a function of a multiplicative interrelation operating between heriditary and environmental factors. In order to explain the conversion process more fully some mediating variables assumed to bear on socialization processes taking place at home and in school are included. The model then unfolds from youth "front-end" educational attainment, via motivation in relation to education, to adult education and job status. Assets acquired via youth education, in turn, interact with environmental and personality resources. This interaction is assumed to affect the likelihood of adult education participation. Adult education then "updates" the conversion process by continuously supplanting marketable assets with personality and environmental resources and vice versa. The quality of this dialectic constitutes a force, the strength of which determines the levels of job entry, skills acquisition and upgrading, and occupational mobility.

The model of analysis employed in this study includes these components: social class of origin, cognitive ability at the age of ten, parents' attitudes to education, teacher's evaluation of the child's cognitive functioning, respondents' acquired levels of youth education and adult education, the respondents' attitude to education, and the respondents' occupational status at the ages of 30, 35, 43 and 52. The resource conversion model, which posits a reciprocal relationship between parents' attitudes and teacher's evaluation, is discussed in Tuijnman (1986) and Tuijnman et al. (in press).

5. THE MALMÖ STUDY

The variables used in this investigation belong to the Malmö Study. The Malmö Study comprises information collected over half a century of progressive longitudinal research. It comprises data originally gahtered in 1938 for all 1 542 children attending both public and private schools in Malmö, a city on the southern coast of Sweden. In 1938, 85 per cent of the children in the sample were 10 years of age. Since 1942, additional information was collected at regular intervals. A detailed account of the data collection procedures employed in the history of the study is given in Husén et al. (1969) and in Fägerlind (1987).

6. MEASUREMENT OF VARIABLES

The variable Social Class (SES38) collapses into a single measure information about father's education, occupation, family size and income. Cognitive Ability (IQ38) consists of scores on a four-component intelligence test. Parents' Attitudes to Education (PAEDAT) is a measure of parental support for schooling. Teacher's Evaluation of Ability (TEIQ) constitutes a proxy of school socialization of relevance to educational attainment.

Youth Education (ACLEV) is composed of six categories progressively estimating the levels at which formal youth education was obtained. Respondents' Attitude to Education (ASPED) presents a measure of motivation with regard to adult education. Occupational Status is examined from age 30 to 52. OCC58, OCC63, OCC71 and OCC80 are similarly coded and use rank scaled values from 6 to 1.

Three indicators of Adult Education are used. With the help of questionnaires, information about adult education was gathered at three points in time. The measure ADEC63 estimates the amount and quality of adult education obtained in the period from 1958 to 1963 (age 35). ADEC71 spans the years from 1964 to 1971 (age 43) and ADEC84 ranges from 1972 to 1984 (age 56).

Initially, information about adult ecuation was coded into five mutually exclusive categories: (1) non-participation, (2) participation in non-credential leisure-oriented adult education, (3) non-credential job-related adult education, (4) credential leisure-oriented adult education, and (5) credential job-related adult education. Because the focus of the study is on explaining occupational achievement, job-related adult education is assigned preference over leisure-oriented adult education.

The three ADEC variables have similar metric properties. In their weighted formats, these variables are used to construct two cumulative indicators of adult educational attainment. The ADCOL variable estimates the quality of adult education obtained from age 30 to 43, and ACLAD measures adult education acquired until age 56.

7. METHODOLOGY

The designation and descriptions of the variables and their corresponding means and standard deviations are given in Tuijnman (1986: 88-93). As in all longitudinal projects, this study has encountered problems of analysis in relation to missing data. The original sample comprises 834 men. A lower bound estimate of the effective population of the least accurate measure from 1938 to 1984 is about 400 cases. This number is used in the testing of significance of the path models. Missing data in the Malmö Study are studied in Furu (1985) and Fägerlind (1987). When computing zero order correlation coefficients, missing values are deleted pair-wise.

The regression coefficients are computed in several stages, using instrumental variables, least squares regression, and the path solution employing standardized coefficients. The threshold for significance is put at twice the approximated standard error. The value of 0.05 (about one standard error) is used to eliminate non-significant paths when computing total effect coefficients.

8. CONTINGENCY TABLE ANALYSIS

Table 1 presents data on the relationship between the social class membership of the male sample measured at age 10, and the quality of adult education acquired by the population from age 30 to 56. It should be noted that the adult education variable does not posess a natural metric. The data presented in Table 1 indicate that social class measured at the age of 10 is significantly related to the quality of adult education acquired by the respondents during the early, mid and late phases of their respective career cycles.

Table 2 shows the results of a contingency table analysis of test scores measuring cognitive ability at the age of 10 and the quality of adult education obtained by the population from age 30 to 56. The findings indicate that cognitive ability estimated at the age of 10 relates significantly to the quality of adult education obtained by the male respondents 20 to 46 years hence. This finding, which was also reported by Emanuelsson et al. (1973), may provide some support to the cognitive approach

to research on the relationship between the formation of interests in and recruitment to adult education. This observation may also apply to the branch of cognitive theories frequently referred to as the expectancy-valence theory (Rubenson, 1987).

Table 1. Quality of Obtained Adult Education (ACLAD; 1958-1984, Age 30-56) and Social Class of Origin Measured at Age 10 (1938). In per cent.

Social *) Class at Age 10	Quality of Adult Education (Age 30-56) None %	Low %	M- %	M %	M+ %	High %	Row %
IV	10	5	5	7	4	0	31
III	8	3	5	10	7	3	36
II	2	2	4	7	4	3	22
I	1	0	3	3	3	1	11
Total %	21	10	17	27	18	7	100
Total N	125	55	93	145	100	41	559

Likelihood Ratio Chi-square 41.3 with DF=15 and PROB < 0.001

*) Note: (IV) denotes unskilled workers, (III) skilled workers, (II) lower middle class, and (IV) upper middle class.

Table 2. Quality of Obtained Adult Education (ACLAD; 1958-1984, Age 30-56) and Cognitive Ability Measured at Age 10 (1938). In per cent.

Test score level of cognitive ability at age 10		Quality of Adult Education (Age 30-56) None %	Low %	M- %	M %	M+ %	High %	Row %
- 85	(Weak)	8	2	3	4	2	1	20
86- 92	(M-)	3	2	1	3	2	1	12
93-107	(M)	8	4	6	10	7	1	36
108-114	(M+)	2	1	3	4	3	1	14
115-	(Gifted)	2	1	3	5	4	3	18
Total %		23	10	16	26	18	7	100
Total N		134	58	95	153	103	42	585

Likelihood Ratio Chi-square 52.7 with DF=20 and PROB < 0.001

Table 3 presents the results of a tabulation between formal youth "front-end" and adult educational attainment. In contrast to the variable used in the regression analysis, which consists of rank scale scores from 6 to 1, the measure of acquired level of youth education applied here comprises only three categories. These are (1) less than elementary school (less than 6 years), (2) junior academic secondary school (between 6 and 9 years) and (3) upersecondary school or university education. Consistent with previous research findings, Table 3 indicates that there is a positive relationship between acquired level of youth education and the amount of adult educational resources obtained during or alongside working life. In statistical terms, this finding implies that the probability of obtaining a substantial amount of career-related adult education is greater the higher the initial level of youth education.

In table 4 a cross-tabulation between self-reported interest in adult education and initial level of youth education is given. The data indicate that the formation of interest - which is taken to be a proxy of motivation with respect to recruitment to adult education - significantly relates to the level of youth education aquired by respondents. It must be noted that previous research on the Malmö Study established a significant positive correlation between self-reported interest in adult education and the desire to change occupations (Emanuelsson et al., 1973).

The findings reported in Table 5 indicate that interest in adult education also significantly relates to the quality and the amount of adult education actually obtained. It can be seen from the Table that 65 per cent of the male sample (N=303) reported a positive willingness to participate in adult education at the age of 35. During the seven years that elapsed subsequent to the moment this interest was declared, almost half of this group (N=140) did not take part in any form of organized adult education, whether it be of a leisure or a career related type. This "mismatch" notwithstanding, the relationsship is significant. Though not surprising, this finding underscores the importance of investigating relationships between childhood predictors, interest formation, and actual recruitment to adult education.

9. REGRESSION ANALYSIS

The model investigated explains nine per cent of the variance in tested ability, 22 per cent in parents' attitude to education, 45 per cent in teacher's rating of the child's cognitive functioning and 50 per cent in acquired level of youth education. Because no data on adult education were available for the years before 1958, occupational status at the age of 30 is measured without including adult education indicators. At the age of 30, the conversion model accounts for 42 per cent of the variance in OCC58. It can be observed from the regression estimates presented in Table 6 that no significant paths from the childhood predictors to occupational status at the age of 30 were retained. The absense of such paths lends support to the resource conversion theory.

At the age of 35, the model explains 20 per cent of the variance in motivation for education, five per cent in adult education, and 45 per cent in occupational status. Table 6 shows that no significant path was found between the respondents' attitude to education and adult education at the age of 35. Rubenson (1987) writes that the absense of this connection is attributable to the fact that a person's attitude to education has already helped determine initial school achievement. Thus, if youth education is controlled, no variance in adult education is accounted for by attitudes to education. At the age of 35, youth and adult education are both significantly related to occupational achievement (.64 and .10 respectively).

At the age of 43, the model accounts for 23 per cent of the variance in motivation for education, 10 per cent in adult education, and 47 per cent in job status. The estimates presented in

Table 3. Quality of Obtained Adult Education (ACLAD; 1958-1984, Age 30-56) and Acquired Level of Youth Education (-1953). In per cent.

Level of Youth Education	Quality of Adult Education (Age 30-56) None %	Low %	M- %	M %	M+ %	High %	Row %
< = Elementary	14	4	7	7	4	0	36
Junior Second	7	5	7	15	9	4	47
Senior Second or University	1	1	3	4	5	3	17
Total %	22	10	17	26	18	7	100
Total N	130	58	94	151	97	42	572

Likelihood Ratio Chi-square 90.2 with DF=10 and PROB < 0.001

Table 4. Reported Interest in Adult Education (Age 35) and Acquired Level of Youth Education (-1953). In per cent. Total N=486.

Level of Youth Education	Interest in Adult Education Not Interested N	%	Interested N	%	Row %
less than Folkskola	15	3	17	4	7
6 or 7 years of folkskola	57	12	107	22	34
Folkskola plus some vocational training	51	11	139	29	40
Upper secondary school without matriculation	36	7	41	8	15
Upper secondary school with matriculation	7	1	11	2	3
University training	3	0.5	2	0.5	1
Total % and N	169	34.5	317	65.5	100

Likelihood Ratio Chi-square 13.8 with DF=5 and PROB < 0.01

Table 5. Reported Interest in Adult Education (1963, Age 35) and Actually Obtained Quality of Adult Education (ADEC71; 1964-1971). In per cent. Total N=464.

Obtained Quality of Adult Education	Interest in Adult Education: Not Interested N	%	Interested N	%	Row %
Not Participated	105	23	140	30	53
Non-Credential Leisure Related	16	3	36	8	11
Non-Credential Career Related	18	4	64	14	18
Credential Leisure Related	5	1	17	4	5
Credential Career Related	17	4	46	9	13
Total % and N	161	35	303	65	100

Likelihood Ratio Chi-square 16.9 with DF=4 and PROB < 0.002

6 show that parents' attitude to education at the age of 10 has a direct effect on adult educational attainment 25 years hence. At this point in mid-career, motivation for further education predicts adult education and occupational status. It is interesting to note that, if compared to the model estimated at the age of 35, the path from youth educational attainment to occupational status at the age of 43 has decreased (.53), and the effect of adult education had increased (.16).[3)]

At the age of 52, the model accounts for 12 per cent of the variance in adult education and 54 per cent in occupational status. Table 6 indicates that no significant paths were found to exist between the childhood predictors and the dependent variables entered subsequent to youth education. If compared to the model estimated at the age of 43, the direct effect of youth education on job status at the age of 52 has further decreased (.43) and the effect of adult education on job status has increased substantially (.40).

The data presented in Table 6 indicate that youth education has a maximum direct effect on occupational success during early career (around age 30). This effect is found to decrease substantially thereafter. It can be inferred, however, that the <u>total</u> effect[4)] of youth education on occupational status is about stable throughout the phases of the career cycle studied. Because the <u>total</u> effect of youth education on

3) Though it may not be entirely appropriate, this path coefficient (.16) compares well with the mid-career estimate (.21) reported by Jones and Davis (1986).

4) The total effect or total path coefficient is defined as the sum of direct, indirect and possibly also of interaction effects of a variable Y on a variable X (Duncan, 1975).

Table 6. Path Coefficients and Path Regressions in a Conversion - Status Attainment Model for Swedish Men Belonging to the Malmö Study. ($432 < N \leq 834$)

		Independent Variables													
	Dependent Variables	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	R^2
1	Social Class (1938, age 10)	.31	.34	N.A.	.27	.07	.03	.04	.03	.03	.00	.04	.05	.05	N.A.
2	Cognitive Ability (1938, age 10)		N.A.	.60	.29	.00	.05	.10	.00	.05	.04	.05	.04	-.01	.093
3	Parents' Attitude to Child's Education			.20	.21	.04	.09	.06	.03	.06	.10	.03	.07	-.03	.223
4	Teacher's Rating of Child's Ability		.29		.20	-.05	.16	-.05	-.05	.03	.06	-.14	.05	-.03	.443
5	Acquired Level of Youth Education					.64	.33	.20	.64	.48	.15	.53	.25	.43	.499
6	Occupational Status (1958), age 30)														.419
7	Motivation for Education (age 35)							.04	.08						.197
8	Quality of Adult Education (age 30-35)							.10							.045
9	Occupational Status (1963, age 43)														.453
10	Motivation for Education (age 43)										.15	.19	.16	.12	.233
11	Quality of Adult Education (age 30-43)											.16			.097
12	Occupational Status (1971, age 43)														.467
13	Quality of Adult Education (age 30-56)												.40		.123
14	Occupational Status (1980, age 52)														.542

Note: Regression coefficients are underlined. These are not significant at the two SE probability level. Path coefficients are significant at two SE (approximately > .10). The regressions marked N.A. are not applicable because their paths are rejected by the instrumental variables solution.

occupational success seems constant, it is also inferred that adult education functions to mediate and reinforce the role of youth education as a major occupational stratifier in society.

Adult education is understood to advance the resource conversion process by mediating the influences of environmental and personality resources on occupational status. Because the models studied explain only a small proportion of the variance in the quality of adult education obtained (from 5 to 12 per cent), it is concluded that adult education operates to a substantial degree independent of social origins, cognitive ability, and acquired level of youth education. After the period of early career, although the direct effect on occupational status decreases in strength, the level of youth education initially acquired remains a most powerful determinant of career achievement.

Adult education, as predicted by youth education, functions to stabilize the otherwise diminishing effects of youth education on occupational achievement from mid-career onwards. Personality resources as measured by motivation for education influence adult education participation particularly in the later phases of life. There is some evidence to suggest that adult education indeed may provide a "second chance opportunity" for achieving upward career mobility of the type examined by Stoikov (1975). Consistent with previous research, the probability of acquiring adult education is greater the higher the level at which youth education initially was obtained. Because the coefficients computed for the effect of adult education on occupational achievement are substantial, this study supports the assumption that career-related adult education confers knowledge and skills of relevance to the acquisition of jobs with a higher responsibility and prestige level.

10. RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

The analysis reported here is based on the male part of the data collected in the Malmö Study. Though there are no great differences between men and women with regard to their total enrolment in adult education, the findings of previous research indicate that there are significant differences with respect to the types of programs attended as well as in terms of the reasons most frequently cited for participation in adult education (Boshier and Collins, 1983). Therefore, the analysis should be extended to include models particularly relevant to women.

Because the data pertain to a single cohort born in the city of Malmö around 1928, some observations with respect to representativity must be made. Malmö is located in the midst of a densely populated and advanced industrialized region. The age bracket to which the Malmö population belongs matured at a time when Sweden was characterized by popular relief rather than social welfare. The democratic equality ideal had not yet resulted in the comprehensive school reforms. Also, the Malmö population must have had a high propensity to take part in adult education at a time when the post-mandatory system was less developed than its counterpart today. The formidable expansion of the adult education sector, in addition to changes introduced by the higher education reforms of 1975, have important implications for the findings reported here (Abrahamsson, 1986). The Malmö sample has not enjoyed an optimal opportunity to take part in adult education, including personnel training, if compared to cohorts born in a later period. Thus, in order to generate a better understanding of the effects of adult education on the individual and society, longitudinal research on adult education using data collected for other cohorts should be initiated.

The results of this study underscore the importance of adult education for occupational achievement, particularly with regard to late career. The developments which have changed the economy, the labor market and the educational system since the 1950s, have created more favorable conditions for today's adult students. It is therefore probable that, if data pertinent to other birth cohorts are analyzed, similar or perhaps stronger coefficients may be found for the effect of adult education on occupational status. A variety of mechanisms can be postulated that may account for the effects of education observed, mechanisms that include cognitive, economic, organizational, and social-psychological emphases. The task to examine and discuss theoretical explanations as to why or how the effects of youth and adult education as estimated on the basis of the Malmö Study sample arise, is considered outside the scope of this article. A limited investigation of several factors that may to some extent be implicated in the observed trends is given in Tuijnman (1986). Among these factors are the importance of segmented labor markets in which determinant job sequences exist, the effects of employee screening, notions of career and continuity in work history, the impact of employment conditions and work content, differences in the values of member groups, and individual differences in perception and evaluation of self and society.

Footnotes to Title Page

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2) Albert Tuijnman is a doctoral student at the Institute of International Education, University of Stockholm.

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PART FOUR

SWEDISH RECURRENT EDUCATION TOWARDS THE LEARNING SOCIETY: COMMENTS ON REFORM EVALUATION AND FUTURE ORIENTATION

* Recurrent Education in Sweden - Obsolete Policy Concept or Guideline for the Future?
  By Kenneth Abrahamsson, Mats Myrberg and Kjell Rubenson

* Evaluating the Reform of Higher Education in a Regional Context - the View from a Rector's Desk.
  By Ola Román

* Corporate Classrooms or Free Academies? - a Look at Future Adult Higher Education in Sweden.
  By Kenneth Abrahamsson

RECURRENT EDUCATION IN SWEDEN - OBSOLETE POLICY CONCEPT OR GUIDELINE FOR THE FUTURE?

By Kenneth Abrahamsson and Mats Myrberg
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and Kjell Rubenson
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1. RECONCEPTUALIZING RECURRENT EDUCATION - SWEDISH EXPERIENCES

A Point of Departure

In its debate on the Government's Higher Education Bill, the 1975 Riksdag (Parliament) resolved that "future planning of the education system is to be based on recurrent education as a common model for the individual's personal educational planning" (Govt. Bill Prop. 1975:9, p.2).

The idea of recurrent education was developed by the 1968 Education Commission (U 68) and was launched as a means of solving the problems confronting the higher education system (U 68, 1969a and 1969b; SOU 1973:2).

Starting in the form of concrete planning models described in the debate publications presented by U 68, the recurrent education principle developed more and more into a buzzword of educational policy, a panacea for the educational system (Rubenson, 1979; Lindensjö, 1981).

The reform of higher education was not the only matter decided upon by the 1975 Riksdag. Adult education also occupied the focus of attention. Following extensive inquiries, a number of recruitment-supportive measures were introduced, namely, financial benefits for adult students, a permanent organization for outreach activities and a general increase in adult education funding (Govt. Bill Prop. 1975:23).

Recurrent Education - Background and Aims

The almost explosive growth of the higher education system during the 1960s led to a steep rise in expenditure and was expected to disrupt the balance of the labour market. This called for a reappraisal of the dimensioning, organization and internal structure of higher education.

The terms of reference issued to U 68 said nothing about planning future higher education on the principle of alternation between education and gainful employment. The idea of recurrent education evolved within the Commission and came to be viewed as an instrument for accomplishing the tasks with which the Commission had been entrusted.

Interest in recurrent education as a planning strategy was probably due above all, not to the educational gains and the greater social equality of recruitment which a system of this kind would lead to, but rather to the question of restricting total higher education intake and achieving the best possible fit between demand in the employment sector and supply from the education system. Recurrent education was seen as a means of making up for the insufficient capacity of forecasts to predict the future requirements of the labour market (U 68 1969a, p. 43 et seq.).

International writings on the higher education reform and recurrent education, however, usually stress the egalitarian aspect (cf. Jones, 1985). But the

part actually played in the reform by deliberations of this kind is unclear. One general observation which can be made is that the Commission was appointed during a period of radicalization within the labour movement (Korpi, 1978). Education, and adult education in particular, was looked on as a pivotal instrument of distributive policy. The concept of recurrent education can be viewed as an integral part of the radical educational ideology permeating the labour movement at the beginning of the 1970s. These radical aspirations are clearly stated in the U 68 debate publication "Goals and Guidelines", but as Lindensjö (1981) has remarked, they were toned down subsequently. Both the debate publication and the Commission's main report show that recurrent education was the means whereby a more egalitarian education system was to be achieved. Recurrent education was ascribed a dual egalitarian function, viz that of compensating for what had been a highly unequal system, and providing the cornerstone of a new system in which the previous drawbacks were less in evidence. This was to be achieved in the following ways:

* Previous educational choices were not to constitute dead ends.

* A division of longer study programmes into two or more stages would encourage students from environments lacking educational motivation to complete longer study programmes.

* Alternation between education and gainful employment would tone down the difference between them.

* Work experience would provide educational motivation for those who had gone straight from school to the employment sector.

* Education would be seen to be more relevant.

Another idea, less clearly expounded in public documents, was that a system based on the principle of recurrent organization would dispel the direct link between longer study programmes and access to high-status professions. It can hardly have been a coincidence that TCO (the Swedish Central Organization of Salaried Employees) brought most pressure to bear in favour of recurrent education (cf. TCO, 1973) while SACO (the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations) strongly objected to the idea. The actions taken by the trade union organizations in the matter of recurrent education reflect the fundamental connection between the development of the employment sector on the one hand and the egalitarian potential of the education system on the other.

Reform Strategy

The debate publication "Higher Education - Function and Structure" (U 68, 1969b,) dealt with the changes which it was felt would have to be made to the education system in order for recurrent education to become feasible. Very radical measures were advocated in this connection.

A Modified Concept of Recurrent Education - Retreat or Realism?

In the final report (SOU 1973:2), as in the Government's Higher Education Bill, less emphasis was put on introducing the principle of recurrent education. Instead the reform rested primarily on a conventional organizaton of studies and not to any great extent on the recurrent education alternatives discussed in the debate publication "Higher Education - Function and Structure".

The Minister introducing the Bill was very circumspect regarding the pace at which recurrent education could be introduced as a principle of educational organization.

The 1976 Bill introduced by the non-socialist Government expressed similar aims. "The primary aim is not to introduce recurrent education as a norm but,

as far as possible, to make recurrent education an equivalent educational alternative" (Prop. 1976-77:59, p. 44).

The view expressed in these two Government Bills makes a stark contrast to the radical measures, almost of a compulsory nature, which the U 68 debate publications maintained would be necessary in order to introduce recurrent education.

The reason for the great difference expressed in the final report and the Government Bills was that proposals on the lines advocated in the debate publication would involve very drastic modifications to the entire education system, a proposition which large groups were opposed to. The academic community, not least, was against the idea. The proposed intermediate leaving of the system was the main target of their criticism.

Three Models of Recurrent Education

There was uncertainty regarding not only the time frame for implementing recurrent education but also with respect to the true implications of the principle. This uncertainty was very much due to the concept having been formulated at overriding policy level, without any concretization at the levels where the idea was to be put into effect. Things were made still more complicated by a failure to distinguish adequately between recurrent education as a planning strategy for the higher education system and recurrent education as a strategy for the comings and goings of the individual student in the education system.

Three fairly distinct models of recurrent education can be distinguished in U 68's traveaux préparatoires (after Rubenson, 1979, p. 16).

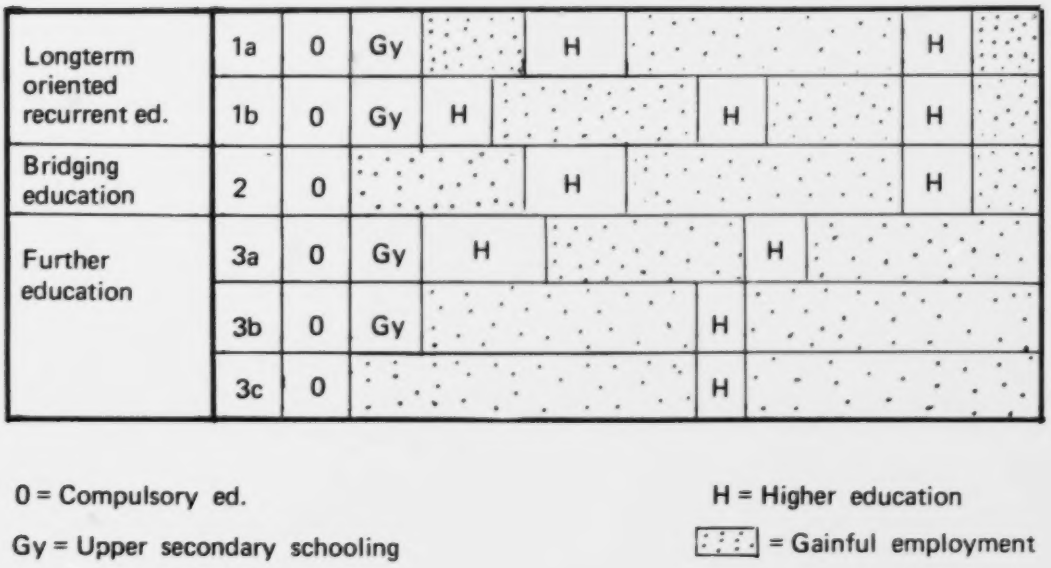


Figure 1. Alternative models of recurrent education, with special reference to higher education. (After Rubenson, 1979, p. 16).

Model 1 could be regarded as a more long-term, fundamental model of recurrent education, of the kind presented in U 68's debate publications and OECD literature. This model can be realized either by postponing basic post-secondary education or, as in Alternative 1b, by splitting it up and spreading it out over the lifecycle.

In Model 3, the main concern is with providing subsequent and further education in the more traditional sense at the earliest possible opportunity. In model 3 we have distinguished between a number of cases. Example (a) illustrates a scheme of subsequent and further education for graduates. Case (b) refers to those who, on completing their upper secondary schooling, have proceeded to gainful employment and then only returned to the education system for a short-cycle university course. In case (c) we have illustrated the peculiar Swedish situation of broadened admissions, i.e. the general eligibility of persons aged 25 with four years' work experience for higher education enrolment.

Model 1 is a long-term planning strategy aimed at restructuring higher education, while Model 3 is best described as supplementing the existing structure, its aim being to cope with acute difficulties in the employment sector.

Model 2 can be viewed as a temporary measure to deal with problems created by a previous system.

The confusion created by Models 1 and 3 is one reason why educational planners are sometimes heard to say that recurrent education is already with us and has always existed. There is, of course, some truth in this. Long before the reform, there were cases of individual people planning their education on a recurrent basis. And adult education, personnel training included, has existed for a very long time indeed. The novelty lies in these things no longer being regarded as separate parts of more temporary arrangements for dealing with acute problems. Instead they form integral parts of a long-term planning strategy, the aim being to develop a system which will encourage people to divide up and spread out their periods of education over a longer portion of the lifecycle, thus facilitating a natural kind of alternation between periods of education and gainful employment.

Recurrent Education Incentives in the Higher Education System

The admissions system and intermediate qualifications were the foremost instruments at the central level for putting recurrent education into practice. The admissions system occupied a key position as regards both the long-term and the bridging model. The 1978 budget proposals (Govt. Bill Prop. 1978:100, p. 378) stated:

> "The new principles, on which there has been full consensus, are among other things aimed at opening up new educational opportunities for people who were previously excluded from a large part of the educational sector, at reducing the social bias of recruitment above all for certain much sought-after study programmes, and at encouraging younger persons, as well as mature students, to plan their education on a recurrent basis".

As regards the underlying intentions of the reform, the rules of admission were obviously framed in accordance with models 1a and 2. The uncertainty which prevailed concerning the development of intermediate qualification as an alternative to a longer period of continuous education confirms that Model 1b could only be realized in the long-term.

A system of separate single-subject courses which, unlike the measures pertaining to models 1 and 2, operates at the regional level, was introduced in order to implement Model 3. The measures taken at local level, e.g. the introduction of distance teaching, also form part of this picture.

Research literature on adult education commonly refers to three categories of impediment to participation in adult education:

Institutional impediments/ barriers	(Access to education, educational content, rules of admission, expense etc.)
Situational impediments/ barriers	(time, childminding etc.)
Psychological impediments/ barriers	(lack of motivation, self-confidence etc.)

The measures which were taken for the promotion of recurrent education referred to the "institutional impediment" category, aimed as they were at eliminating certain obstacles in the way of adults wishing to enter the higher education system. The interesting thing about the construction of these rules of admission is that they also had the effect of putting certain institutional impediments in the way of people who intended to go straight on to higher education from upper secondary school.

On the other hand, little or no attention was paid to psychological and situational impediments in connection with this reform. In this respect the choice of strategy differed radically from that of the reform implemented simultaneously in the adult education sector, where these very types of impediment occupied the forefront. Thus there is very good reason to suppose that the higher education and adult education reforms were governed by different egalitarian objectives.

Realization of the Recurrent Education Philosophy

Interest in realizing recurrent education as a principle of educational organizaton tailed off relatively quickly. A review of budget requests from the National Board of Universities and Colleges (UHÄ) for the budget period 1978-1986 and of the Government's budget proposals for the same period shows not only that the subject was removed from the agenda, but also that measures were taken in exactly the opposite direction.

In its budget requests for 1980/81 (UHÄ, 1979:15), UHÄ referred to the reports on recurrent education which had been compiled as part of a follow-up programme. On the strength of the finding thus presented concerning the gap between "ideal and reality", UHÄ declared its intention of drawing up a programme of action for its work on recurrent education, which among other things would include a refinement of concepts and a review of study organization and study programmes. Other questions, however, were thrust into the limelight, and no concrete recurrent education programme was ever presented in the context of budget estimates.

Towards the end of the 1970s, an intensive debate was launched in the news media on the crisis of the universities, above all as regards the international competitive status of research and difficulties connected with post-graduate recruitment.

The discussion of the research crisis makes an interesting example of the confusion of different problems. One might suppose from this debate that the

opening up of higher education to mature students was one of the main causes of the wretched state of post-graduate recruitment. In actual fact there are two different problems involved here. The increased recruitment of mature students actually turned into something of a bail-out for several disciplines in liberal arts faculties. And it is worth noting that lack of interest in post-graduate studies was a widespread phenomenon apparent even in countries which had not opened the doors of their universities to mature students.

Reports of upper secondary students with very high qualifications being turned away from popular study programmes evoked a public outcry. In the course of debate, the consequences of the new rules were portrayed as something undesirable and unexpected, not as a natural consequence of the way in which the rules had been written. From the vantage point of recurrent education, difficulties were compounded by a steep rise in the number of young persons aged between 18 and 24, which put additional pressure on the higher education system.

The situation in post-graduate studies and the growing numbers of young students resulted in the rules of admission being amended with the aim of increasing the numbers of upper secondary school leavers going straight on to higher education (Govt. Bill Prop. 1979/80:158). The new rules of selection recommended by the Admissions Commission represented a further step in the same direction (SOU 1985:57). Referring back to Figure 1 (p. 115), this tended to inhibit recurrent education in accordance with Model 1b. As regards the more ambitious recurrent education venture represented by Model 1a, no systematic developments materialized at all. Instead, recurrent education came to be more and specifically associated with subsequent and further education, and it became common practice among higher education representatives to equate recurrent education with separate single-subject courses (Lingström, 1983, p. 36).

2. EVALUATION OF ADULT EDUCATION REFORMS OF THE 1970s

Distributive Aims and Diminishing Resources

During the 1970s, the Government and Riksdag pursued the strategy of trying to redress the balance of recruitment in adult education by means of a policy package spanning over several sectors of society. Apart from measures in the adult education sector itself, this strategy included social benefits for students, the introduction of grants for activation measures, supplementing the Shopstewards Act and the Educational Leave of Absence. These efforts were guided by experience of measures taken previously, from which it was apparent that, when attempting to augment the participation of disadvantaged groups, it is not enough simply to offer them education; measures of recruitment support are also needed. These measures can be termed compensatory. Their aim was to help overcome psychological (fear, attitudes etc.) and situational (lack of time, expense) impediments to education. The ultimate aim was to create a need for education among groups traditionally not predisposed for educational activity.

The emphasis of these distributive aims was on targeted measures. Experience of the reforms of the 1960s had shown that blanket measures were a blunt instrument in distributive terms. Accordingly, the SVUX and FÖVUX commissions advocated closely targeted measures of recruitment promotion.

The distributive aspirations were toned down at the end of the 1970s, a tendency which persisted during the first half of the 1980s.

During the 1970s, adult education had received special encouragement compared with other forms of education. It should be pointed out, however, that adult education began at a very low real level. This trend was inflected at the beginning of the 1980s, and in

recent years adult education, like compulsory schooling, has been subjected to heavy spending cuts (Olofsson & Rubenson, 1985).

One manifestation of distributive aims is the relationship between targeted and general inputs. The former increased in proportion to the latter until about 1980, which was in keeping with the policy aims declared. Since then the ratio has been kept constant at about 30 per cent.

The 1970s come across in a less favourable light if the size of targeted measures is estimated with reference to the successive expansion measures advocated by FÖVUX and SVUX. If one accepts the premises and calculations presented by these commissions, actual spending amounting to a good deal less than half the necessary resources must be termed quite insufficient to achieve the highly pitched aims, and as regards the education gap, actual recruitment figures should be judged in this light.

Distributive aims were gradually toned down as the reform period wore on. The Government Bill (Prop. 1975:23), which was expected to be only the beginning of a comprehensive long-term policy package, proved if anything to mark the culmination of the period of reform.

This was mainly due to the grave deterioration of national government finances at the end of the 1970s. And as regards the ideological foundations and emphases of the reform, it should also be observed that the advent of non-socialist governments in 1976 led to certain shifts of emphasis away from the distributive policy aims.

With reference to the report of the Ahlén Commission (Ds U 1985:10), adult education came under heavy fire from a number of quarters, above all for failing to bridge the education gaps. The criticism highlights the difficulty of interpreting the outcome of the reform. Simplifying matters somewhat, the statements made can be summarized as follows.

Evaluation with Reference to Goals or Reality?

What is lacking is an assessment of the conditions prevailing and the realism of the objectives in relation to those conditions. Thus the outcome should be appraised with reference to the following facts:

* The 1975 reform proved to be, not the starting point but if anything the "finishing post" of distributive reforming aspirations.

* Student benefits for adults did not assume anything like the proportions recommended by the commissions.

* Education is voluntary.

* Research literature shows quite clearly that preparedness to participate is very unevenly distributed in the population and is bound up with current situation in life, socialization during the lifecycle and public rules of educational distribution.

* The "undereducated" category is getting older all the time and therefore more difficult to recruit.

Given the "reality" described above, it would be absurd to expect adult education based to a great extent on self-selection to be capable of counteracting the education gaps created in people's formative years. And indeed, evaluations have shown that no palpable distributive change has taken place and that the differences are still unacceptable.

A less pretentious and perhaps more realistic criterion of the success of the reform is that the proportion of undereducated persons among mature students should increase, even if their absolute participation rate is lower than that of the well-educated students. In this sense one finds that a certain equalization occurred between 1974 and about 1978, but that the improvement came to a standstill in connection with the economic crisis.

The degree of success achieved by the reform is hard to define, because in the ultimate analysis it depends on the level of ambition selected. Given a high level of ambition, one could argue that the positive effects referred to above are due to the well-educated already participating to such an extent that it would be hard for them to achieve a growth of participation corresponding to that recorded for the undereducated.

Given a lower level of aspiration, one could instead point out that the undereducated, due to advancing age and, accordingly, declining educational interest, have become increasingly difficult to recruit. Nonetheless, this group has in certain cases increased its relative share of the adult student population.

Despite the persistent bias of recruitment, the growth of the proportion of adult students in the population between 1974 and 1982 from 28 to 42 per cent can only be termed positive. This is closely connected with the explosive expansion of corporate educational activities.

Whatever one's level of ambition, it is also a fact that the growth of educational opportunities in adult age has meant a great deal to women in their bid for equality at work. For example, women have been heavily over-represented in municipal adult education. And during the period under consideration, they have also increased their participation in trade union education.

Educational Effect and Duration of Studies

Eighty per cent of participation concerns study programmes which, generally, are of briefer duration. Unfortunately the available statistics do not tell us anything about the length of individual studies. Less difficulty is involved in this respect by the study circles organized by adult education associations, because most such circles comprise 30 hours. Personnel training and trade union courses, on the other hand, vary a great deal in duration. Most such programmes, however, are short-cycle courses, especially where personnel training for the undereducated is concerned.

Exaggerating somewhat, it is arguable that almost 80 per cent of participation in adult education has little or no effect on the education gap as defined by SVUX in terms of education years. As regards the other 20 per cent there is, once again, a great deal of variation. Some people study full time while others take single subjects or courses, though generally over a longer pierod than in the above mentioned category. Nearly half the participants in longer study programmes are studying at post-secondary level, where there are few undereducated persons to be found. This says a great deal about the difficulty of treating recruitment as a unitary concept and disregarding the nature of studies.

3. PREPARATION FOR FURTHER STUDY AND FOR WORKING LIFE - a Controversial Issue for Upper Secondary Education Turns into General Agreement

The terms of reference issued to the 1976 Upper Secondary Schools Commission emphasized that basic upper secondary schooling was to be viewed as an initial step in a system of recurrent education. Thus vocational education was also to prepare students for further studies, just as general theoretical studies were to prepare them for direct entry into the employment sector. The division into vocational, general theoretical and vocational theoretical (intermediate-level technical and economic studies) lines of study which had persisted since the 1930s was to be superseded by a division into educational sectors presenting an extensive integration of different educational emphases and levels of ambition.

The recurrent education ideology underlying this remit is the same as that of the higher education reform. When the integrated upper secondary

school of 1970 came into being, reforming ambitions were directly geared to the new compulsory school. The traditional system of parallel schools, with educational dead-ends for students opting for vocational lines of study. The notion of lifelong learning, with the individual alternating between educational and economic activity, had no impact on the 1970 reform. Instead stress was laid on the importance of all young persons having access to good basic theoretical education. Accordingly, the division of upper secondary schooling into three theoretical levels was not challenged in the reforms leading up to the new curriculum of the 1970s.

It may seem inconsistent to retain a selectively constructed upper secondary school system while at the same time aiming to achieve social equalization through a general elevation of theoretical educational standards. Viewed in the light of social conditions in Sweden during the 1960s, however, this is not such a difficult circle to square. There was a substantial labour shortage in many sectors. Industry was expanding after radical structural changes in the 1950s, which had eliminated large numbers of low-paid, unskilled jobs. There was a heavy demand for engineers and supervisory personnel. The public sector had embarked on the expansion which was to culminate in the mid-1970s. Several categories of highly educated personnel were in great demand in the expanding public sector. Other occupational categories in the public service were being upgraded in terms of education.

The outward conditions attending a reform of upper secondary education in the 1980s are in many ways different. Industry is no longer the employment locomotive it was in the 1960s. Several sectors which played a pivotal role in Swedish enterprise have succumbed to competition from NICs like Korea and Brazil. Swedish engineering industry has responded to stiffening competition by investing in new production technology which demands new skills on the part of employees. The electronics industry has undergone a change of technology as regards the emphases for production and manufacturing techniques. Process industry has introduced integrated systems of production and control which have also come to be used in other industries. Computer technology is an integral part of both administrative and manufacturing systems.

The past few decades have brought a radical re-structuring of the workforce.

At the time of Statistics Sweden's (SCB) first labour force sample (AKU) survey in 1963, there were 3.700.000 people in the Swedish employment sector. Twenty years later, in 1984, there were 4.300.000. This increase is entirely accounted for by a rise in the female employment participation rate.

In the August 1964 AKU survey, 131 million working hours per week were recorded for the Swedish employment sector. By 1983 this figure had fallen to 112 million, despite a steep rise in employment participation.

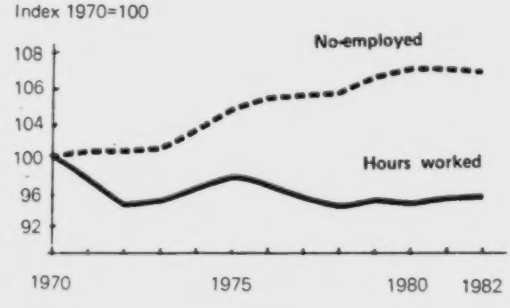


Figure 2. Development of the working populaton and the number of hours worked, 1970-1982, (Source: Arbetsmarknadsstatistisk årsbok, 1980.)

The reduction of average working hours between 1964 and 1983 is part of a very long-term development process. At the

turn of the century, an industrial worker's yearly working hours averaged about 3.000. In 1980 they were 1.800 (SCB 1980, p. 88). There is every likelihood of this long-term trend continuing and perhaps even accelerating during the 1990s.

The employment participation rates of the oldest and youngest members of the employment sector have fallen distinctly since the 1964 AKU survey. In the 14-17 age group, one person in three was gainfully employed in 1964. In 1983 the youngest age group had such a low employment participation rate that no entry was made[1]. The participation rate of the 65-74 age group has fallen from 13 to 7 per cent. In terms of hours worked, the change is even more pronounced. Men in the most productive age groups have also reduced their employment participation rate.

The labour market left by men, youngsters and elderly workers is not the same labour market as women have entered. A very large proportion of women have entered the "public service" sector of the labour market, while a large proportion of the men and elderly workers have left manufacturing industry and agriculture. The "public service" sector includes education, which has tripled since 1964 in terms of the hours worked. Health and medical care together with social welfare (child care included) accounted for a substantial share of the expansion of this sector during the 1970s.

Under this surface of quantitative changes in the labour force there are a number of qualitative changes pointing directly to a new distribution of roles and responsibilities between different parts of the educational system, with new perspectives on the role played by upper secondary schooling in a system of continuing education. One of these educationally significant changes is represented by the organization of work. The hierarchical, traditional Weber/Taylor model of an efficient organization is being altered towards a service and value ideal where those working closest to the market in the organization are looked upon as the organizational front line. Middle-level management is losing its supervising role. Direct links are being formed between top-level management and the market front. The traditional pyramid of authority and responsibility is crumbling. This holds true for industry as well as for commerce and social services.

The educational consequence of the new emphasis on competence development at the "lower" levels of the organization is an increasing demand for capacity on the part of employees to learn and develop new skills, values and knowledge. Educability is becoming a central concern in the recruitment and development of the labour force. The implication for basic vocational education is that preparation for further study is of the utmost importance as a vocational goal. The antagonism between preparation for working life and further study in the debate during the 1970s is slowly being resolved into a unanimous confession to the value of positive attitudes to further education, study skills etc. For many reasons the intermediate "technician level" in the upper secondary system is gaining respect among both pupils and working-life representatives for its ability to include both kinds of goals in vocational preparation.

A second significant change from an educational perspective is a changed division of labour between the formal labour market and the households. Market services are being rationalized and mechanized. Traditional skills included in housekeeping are downgraded. This holds true for cooking, where informally conveyed skills within the family are transformed to industrial process knowledge resulting in prefabricated foods accompanied by a new household technology for meal preparation. In other

1) 14- and 15-year-olds are also included in these surveys during the summer months.

instances, increased demands on skills and knowledge are being imposed on the household. This is valid for economic matters, for example. Financial services are automated via computer technology, leaving the family with the final stage of cash management.

In other instances technology itself has such political significance that public participation in decision-making calls for better knowledge even in very complicated matters. Nuclear energy, environmental protection, food production technology, micro-biology technology, and computer technology are examples of this. Professional knowledge needs a popular counterpart in order to make technological development politically controllable.

Still other aspects of traditional household work have been partly transferred to the labour market, partly kept within the family. Child care and care of the elderly are examples of this. Womens' work has been made visible in the economy. Professional training for this sector of the labour market has developed and expanded vigorously during the last 20 years, both at the secondary and at the tertiary level.

The overall effect of changed qualifications inside and outside the labour market is a continuous educational support to make the development of skills and knowledge match the changing requirements (and, often, to make desired changes possible). Education and work strive for a continuous fit, not just a recurrent interfoliation. An estimate of total participation in education in Sweden during a six-month period would result in a net sum of around 4.6 million of all inhabitants above six years of age. Formal schooling in compulsory and upper secondary school accounts for 1.3 million, higher education for 170.000, municipal adult education for 150.000, training for labour market reasons for 30.000, popular education around 1.5 million (net estimate), other forms of public adult education 30.000, and in-firm training 1 million. As a counterpart to the informally organized work relating to the household, to political and other ideological organizations, such as co-operatives, there is a huge number of so-called self-study projects. Borgström (1982) estimates the number of people involved at around 850.000.

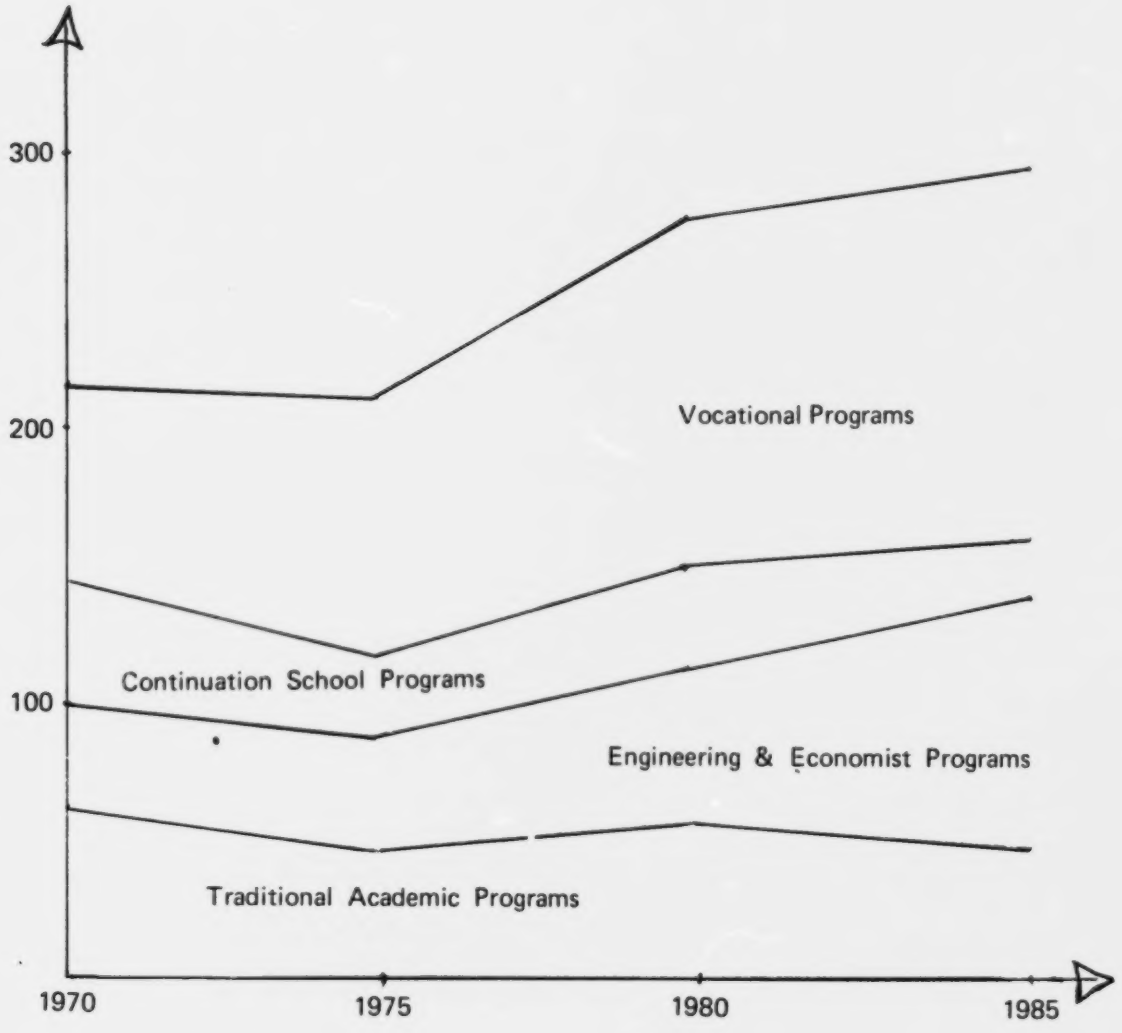
During the 1960s and 1970s compulsory and upper secondary school were the fastest-growing part of the educational system. During the 1980's and 1990's there is good reason to believe that in-firm training is expanding in a corresponding manner, while the volume of compulsory and upper secondary schooling is decreasing. The quantitative changes are matched by a change in reform strategies. Traditionally, Swedish educational reforms have been designed, organized and implemented with a firm centralistic strategy. Institutional organization, nationally valid curricula and resource allocation from the central political sphere to the local municipalities have been important policy levers. Educational reforms during the 1980s have been increasingly concerned with economic development (at both national and regional levels). Quality issues, adjustment to regional conditions and accountability have been of central concern. Teacher training, new forms of funding, modular set-ups, assessment and models for co-operation with branch organizations are used as reform instigators.

4. RECURRENT EDUCATION IN THE EIGHTIES - from Formal to Non-formal Structures?

Reinterpreting the Concept of Recurrent Education

At the same time as higher education was moving away from recurrent education as interpreted in the reform, powerful forces were at work in other sectors of post-compulsory education and the employment sector to update and reinterprete the concept. An integral policy was now demanded for the whole of the education system, together with a closer integration of education, employment and social policies.

Table 1. Number of students in Swedish Upper Secondary Schools from 1970 to 1985.



Source : Mats Myrberg

Recurrent education, as the principle was stated in the higher education reform, sprang from the issue of intake restrictions and from a bid to achieve closer adjustment to the labour market, added to which it was hoped that a recurrent education system would reduce the social bias of recruitment for higher education. The current education strategy now prevailing stemmed from other circumstances and forces: the crisis of government finance, and the advent of an information economy.

The education policy of the eighties has to a great extent been shaped by the acute crisis of government finance, with demands for annual spending cuts aimed at restoring economic balance while still preserving full employment

and monetary stability. The guidelines of economic policy have been augmentation of the "productive" sector and the creation of more scope for private rather than for public consumption (SOU 1984:4).

The spending cuts have meant having to finance any reforms of education by cutting down on expenditure elsewhere in that same sector. Furthermore, heavy cuts have been made in higher education, in schools and in adult education, and progressively greater demands have been made for efficiency.

The question of government finance has also had a direct impact on recurrent education policy in another sense. From the 1981 budget proposals onwards, one observes heavy emphasis on education as an important factor in the economy. The Minister of Education refers to the strengthening of the competitive sector as a central policy target for the 1980s, and resources are therefore to be redistributed with more emphasis on industry (Prop. 1980/81:100, App. 12, p. 1). This means a larger share of funding for technical education and spending cuts in those branches of education which focus on the public sector (cf. Prop. 1984/85:100, App. 10, p. 26 et seq.). This poses a problem to adults, disproportionately large numbers of whom have opted for study programmes leading into the public sector.

Emphasis on the "productive" sectors has also generated a need for subsequent and further education. Education as a means of economic development acquired powerful impetus from the computer revolution.

Presenting the measures planned by the Government to streamline State inputs in the information technology sector (Prop. 1984/85:218, p. 29), the Minister responsible stated:

> "We are currently passing through a period characterized by re-trenchment, growing numbers of young students (the "bulge") in higher education and a radical re-structuring of different educational programmes. Faced with a situation of this kind, it is important that considerations of educational policy alone should not be allowed to decide which resources are to be available for future information technology studies in higher education. In my opinion, therefore, more effort should be made to relate education to a context of industrial policy."

Similar thoughts are being expressed by unions, underscoring the importance of personnel education (cf. TCO, 1985; LO, 1986). The dividing line between union and management representatives concerns, not the importance of personnel education as such but what it is to include, who is to receive it and how control over it is to be distributed.

The presumed connection between education and economic development has caused attention to focus on regional imbalance.

Personnel Education as a Widening of Adult Education Opportunities

In the course of discussion, the focus of attention has been on recurrent education as a means of bringing the education system closer into line with the labour market. As a result, less attention has been paid to the ability of the labour market to realize such a system, e.g. the impact of developments in the labour market and working life on the readiness of the individual to avail himself of recurrent education opportunities. Closer penetration of this problem falls outside the scope of the present report. Instead we will content ourselves with briefly considering a number of general aspects.

First of all, conditions in working life do a great deal to influence a person's readiness to engage in education. Meissner (1971) refers to "the long arm of employment", meaning the way in which conditions at work also affect life outside working hours. Working life

has both a direct and an indirect impact on potential demand for education. The choice of higher education is to a great extent governed by an assessment of future employment opportunities (Härnqvist, 1979) and by the qualifications required for the occupation envisaged (Broady, 1983).

Access to internal recruitment powers is an important prerequisite for alternating between employment and education. One current problem concerns the way in which these opportunities are affected by the information economy. One hypothesis could be that, in a situation where the future is hard to predict, employers put more emphasis on a person's educability, for which reason they insist more than ever on previous completion of initial education. This can bring about a situation where access to internal career lines becomes more and more dependent on a person's educational level when entering the employment sector, and this runs contrary to recurrent education.

Opportunities of subsequent and further education are not equally distributed but are connected with occupational level and branch of employment (SOU 1977:92; Olofsson & Rubenson, 1985). Participation in some form of vocational education holds little attraction for people with monotonous routine jobs (Bergsten, 1977; Larsson et al., 1986). Is adult education to make up for differences caused by corporate education activities, or are the market mechanisms to be allowed to exert more control on recurrent education opportunities for the population? One thing is obvious. The outcome of today's recurrent education strategy will to a great extent be governed by developments in working life and by the growing importance of corporate education as a component of recurrent education.

Recurrent Education - from State Planning to Market Responses?

In contrast to a top-down recurrent education strategy of this kind, one can imagine a strategy growing spontaneously from below, i.e. as a result of people more frequently opting de facto for an educational process based on alternatives between education and economic activity.

Both applications of a recurrent education strategy which have been outlined above naturally involve, among other things, various demands on policy-makers and administrators. In the former instance, it seems evident that the development of recurrent education will to a great extent hinge on the extent to which the labour market of the future encourages, directly and indirectly, educational activities based on the recurrent education principle.

The Hidden Control of Working Life - a Determinant of Recurrent Education

In Figure 3, an attempt is made to summarize the way in which working life developments will affect the recurrent education prospects of the individual. The starting point of the rough model already outlined is the commencement of what is termed the period of the information economy. It follows from what has been said that this influence is not predestined. Instead there is a choice of work organization, and in this connection the behaviour of the trade unions will make much difference. The model implies that these two factors - the information economy and trade union action -will govern the course of development, partly with respect to the educational qualifications defined for employment, the level of skills at work and access to internal mobility routes. As has been observed by Broady (1983) and others, there is often a discrepancy between the educational qualifications defined for employment and the demands posed by the job itself. The development of these conditions at work will in turn do a great deal to influence both the development of personnel education and the attitude of the individual towards recurrent education in its various forms.

Since the individual person's access to education is becoming more and more

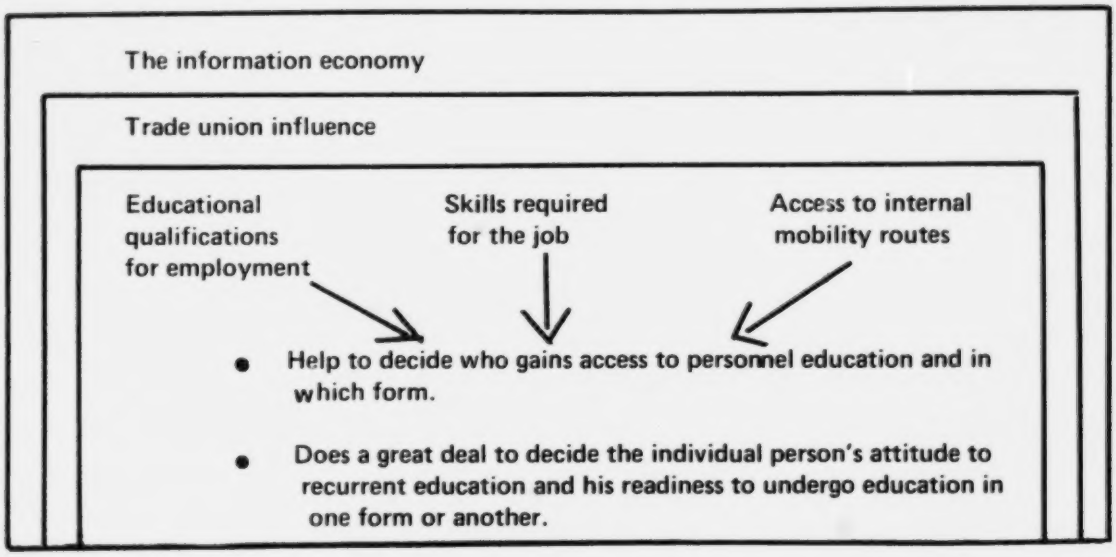

The information economy
Trade union influence
Educational qualifications for employment
Skills required for the job
Access to internal mobility routes
• Help to decide who gains access to personnel education and in which form.
• Does a great deal to decide the individual person's attitude to recurrent education and his readiness to undergo education in one form or another.

Figure 3. Connection between employment sector developments and recurrent education.

closely bound up with his occupational role - the tremendous expansion of personnel training, as well as chartered education and renewal funds - decisions concerning who is to have access to personnel education and in what form are going to exert progressively greater influence on the overall educational structure of the population. In addition, it is getting more and more difficult for the great majority to finance higher education and adult education by means of public student benefits. Current developments, of course, place the Government and Riksdag in a dilemma because they have no direct means of controlling the education sector, which today probably affects more people than any other form of adult education (Olofsson & Rubenson, 1985). Government-financed resources (of finance, personnel and time) will have to be earmarked for planning and implementing the recurrent education strategy decided on.

Heavy demands are also made on the rationality and controlling powers of the strategists (cf. the discussion above concerning centralized as opposed to decentralized control of a recurrent education system). The strategist then acquires the role of designer and supervisor, i.e. the task of designing and supervising the implementation of the recurrent education strategy.

In the latter instance, less is required of strategists and administrators both as regards earmarking resources for planning and implementation and as regards rationality and controlling capacity, because the tasks of planning and implementation are heavily reduced. Instead the strategist functions more as a developer and co-ordinator, in the sense of evaluating, co-ordinating and encouraging observed and anticipated development tendencies. In this context, planning and programming become mainly a question of - retrospectively - summarizing, interpreting and internalizing a development which has already begun (cf. Mintzberg and Waters, 1985).

The difference between the two implications of recurrent education described above is illustrated in Figure 5, below, using the distinction between the concepts of reform level and reality level discussed by Gesser (1985).

Gesser (1985) maintains that the reform level (the level of reality at which reforms are planned and formulated) has a certain autonomy in relation to the level of reality (the level of reality at

which the reform is intended to bring about material changes). This means among other things that the reform level has a logic and a life of its own, relatively independent of events at reality level.

One manifestation of this can be seen in the frequently observed difficulty of implementing reforms. As Gesser (1985) points out, something can often purport to be changed or reformed without those involved in it noticing any difference. Conversely, it is probably also possible for changes to take place at reality level which are not observed, codified or characterized as reforms (in Figure 4, the possibility of reforms occurring at reform and reality level respectively, without any impact on the other level, has been indicated by dashed arrows).

5. SWEDISH RECURRENT EDUCATION TOWARDS THE YEAR 2000 - New Gaps and New Priorities?

As has been made clear in this essay, the idea of recurrent education has meant a variety of things in Sweden during the two decades or more for which it has been in use. The growth of corporate education, with its more or less covert study routes, has created new conditions for recurrent education to operate in. In addition, great changes have taken place in the formal educational organization. Firstly, municipal adult education expanded heavily during the 1970s and, despite certain spending cuts and regional redistributions of State resources, it is today a central component of Swedish adult education. Also during the 1970s, folk high schools widened the scope of their amenities a great deal, not least by increasing their output of short-cycle courses. The amenities offered by adult education associations have changed a great deal, due not least to the adverse economic circumstances prevailing in this sector of Swedish adult education.

Student finance for adults is another reform area with a bearing on recurrent education opportunities. As other contributions to the Conference have shown, resources here have been upgraded for the coming fiscal year. Financial benefits for mature students at post-secondary level are essentially a matter of State loans, with the result that adult students today are accumulating a heavy burden of debt. Attention has been drawn to this point, for example, by the current Student Benefits Commission.

The most substantial change in the formal educational system, as regards justice and equality between different generations, can be seen in the fact of

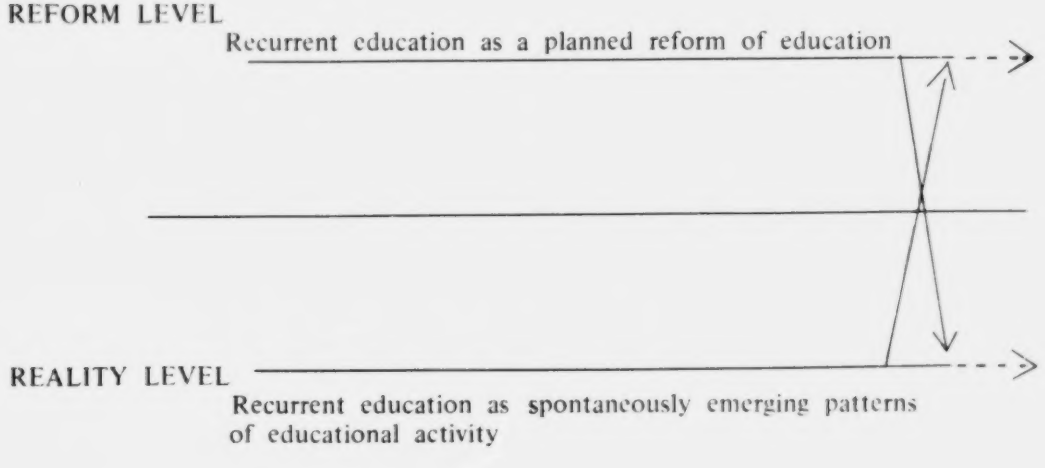

REFORM LEVEL
Recurrent education as a planned reform of education
REALITY LEVEL
Recurrent education as spontaneously emerging patterns of educational activity

Figure 4. Illustration of two implications of a recurrent education strategy.

Swedish upper secondary schools absorbing up to 90 or 95 per cent of compulsory school leavers. Municipal authorities are required by law to organize specific follow-up measures for the residue. The adult education reforms of the 1970s were a response to the expansion of the nine-year compulsory school during the 1960s.

At a time when the great majority of youngsters are receiving 11 or 12 years' schooling and corporate education is expanding heavily, there is a risk of new educational and knowledge gaps appearing before the turn of the century. The gap between the truly undereducated, with six or eight years' elementary schooling behind them, and the growing population of well-educated youngsters will increase as time goes on. In addition, these gaps may be accentuated by professionalization, specialization and social stratification occurring in the wake of the information society. Then again, we can discern a new group in adult education, viz youngsters who, in spite of 11 or 12 years' education, are still very poorly equipped with basic skills and may also be characterized by homelessness and lack of social identity.

In Search of the "New" Gap

What is the new gap? Is it not sufficient to refer to the work and resources needed to accomplish the aims of earlier reforms? In his report on adult education reforms during the 1970s, the official investigator Sune Ahlén confirms that the aims of distributive policy were not always accomplished (i.e. see DsU 1985:10).

There still is, of course, a great need for compensatory inputs in the reforming perspective of the 1970s. But we also need to look ahead. To this end, the new education gap can be summarized under the following four headings.

1. A General Elevation of Educational Standards in Sweden

As a result of the expansion of upper secondary schooling and the development of corporate education, we are moving towards a general elevation of educational standards in Sweden. This change is not peculiar to the 1990s, it is characteristic of the entire post-war era. For example, the proportion of the working population with upper secondary school qualifications practically doubled between the mid-1970s and the mid-1980s. During the present decade we have had distinct indications of the heavy expansion of corporate education.

2. Increased Polarization Above the Average

Above the average educational level, there are great risks of a polarization between different groups. Several forces are operating in this direction, not least the growth of commercial influence in adult education and personnel development, where expensive consultants can customise costly education programmes for groups which are already well-endowed.

Furthermore, there are signs of a growing gap between those who are involved in gainful employment and those who are out of it. Then again, there is the influence exerted by specialization and professionalization.

Another social circumstance capable of leading to greater polarization is the growth of regional imbalance resulting from the creation of knowledge-intensive, close-communication environments.

3. New Groups Lagging Behind

The residual group of truly undereducated persons will gradually diminish, but at the same time will become increasingly difficult to reach.

Then again, the group previously referred to as the reserve of talent is diminishing, because opportunities of compulsory and further upper secondary education are now available throughout the country. On the other hand, a new

group is becoming increasingly apparent. It consists of youngsters who, in spite of almost twelve years' schooling, are insufficient with regard to basic skills and communication skills or are characterized by identity problems and homelessness. In the future, therefore, "priority groups" will be identifiable, not from the duration of their education but from their de facto lack of skills.

4. A Growth of Educational Needs Away from Work

Finally, we have an increasing number of elderly persons. Due to increasing longevity and a more active post-retirement lifestyle, together with working hours reductions, this will lead to a growing demand for non-credential adult education. In this respect, the educational gap may be characterized not only by social stratification but also by lack of contact and deficient cognitive links between generations.

The figure below clearly shows the progressively increasing duration of the formal education received by younger generations when contrasted with the elder ones. Viewed in a national perspective, and with continued emphasis on recurrent education, we are faced with an exciting choice of policy-directions:

(1) For the remainder of this century, are we to concentrate primarily on restoring the value and ideas of the adult education reforms of the 1970s for example, by reinforcing student benefits, developing adult pedagogics and expanding outreach activities?

(2) Must we try to forestall the "new" education gap and plan for new organization and educational strategies as we approach the new century?

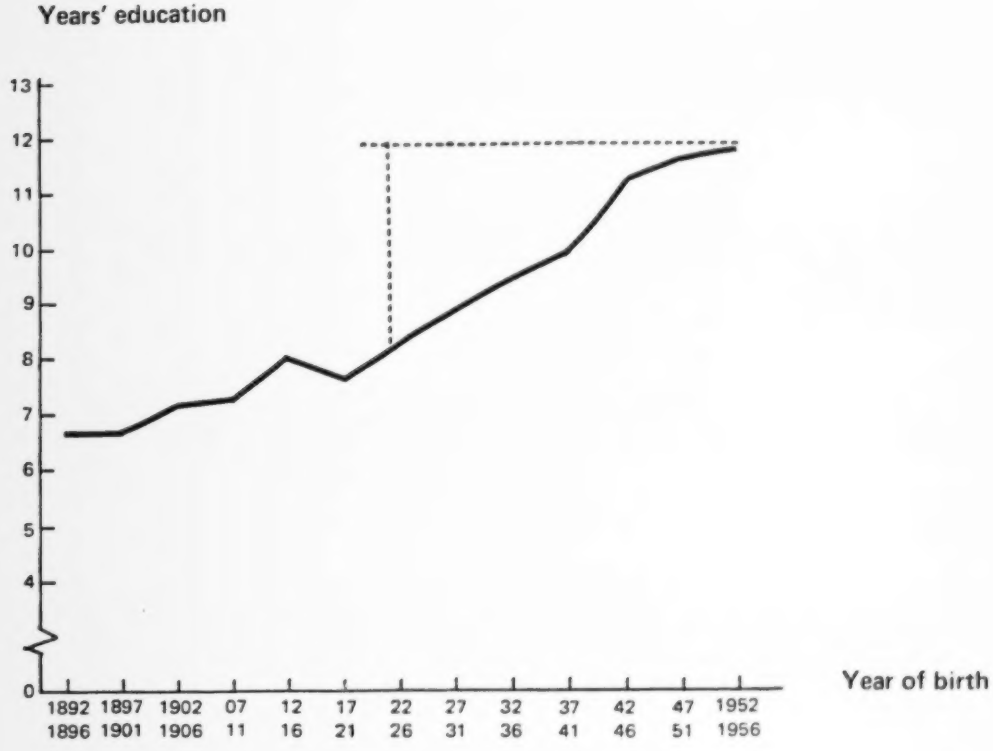


Figure 5. Average duration of education in various groups of cohorts. Modified from "Välfärd i förändring" (1984, p. 189).

(3) Are we to concentrate on enhancing quality and reducing hidden rejection in youth education, thereby making the future generation of adult students better equipped for education, culture and an active search for knowledge throughout the lifecycle?

And how, given different alternatives, should we balance inputs between a general elevation of educational standards through a broadening of upper secondary schooling, specific measures on behalf of disadvantaged groups in the adult population by means of adult education and popular education and, last but not least, advanced subsequent and further education at post-secondary level? These two questions reflect two different approaches to adult students in higher education, as presented in Abrahamsson's case study (1986, p. 77-78).

One approach can be termed Open Door Policies, the idea being to make universities and other forms of higher education more accessible to adults, by means of adopting more liberal rules of admission, introduction& counselling, andragogical working methods and distance teaching. The other approach, which is specifically concerned with Strategies for Recurrent Education, employs a wider systematic perspective spanning the interaction between different forms of education and the employment sector.

One might well ask which of these approaches is best attuned to the theme of the present seminar: SERVING THE ADULT LEARNER. A more systematic approach is, of course, liable to be regarded as abstract, impersonal and catering more to organizational interests than to the needs and demands of the individual. On the other hand, the effect of Open Door Policies will be limited unless we take into account the need for a generally elevated educational standard and unless higher education is viewed in a wider context. Moreover, there is a risk of educationally, challenging Open Door Policies and of exciting experiments' diverting attention from the need for change in the more traditional or conservative sectors of higher education. It is perhaps fruitful to aim for a constructive combination of Open Door Policies and Strategies for Recurrent Education, in which the client-orientation of the first-mentioned approach is united with the emphasis of the latter on thoroughgoing changes throughout the entire education system.

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EVALUATING THE REFORM OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN A REGIONAL CONTEXT - THE VIEW FROM A RECTOR'S DESK

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1. INTRODUCTORY NOTES

Even if the reform of higher education in Sweden 1977 mainly was an organizational reform it has effected higher education in the country in most aspects. Both internally and externally our institutions are in a dynamic situation never met before. The consciousness of the importance of higher education and research is now widely spread around the society and among different groups of people. Within institutions of higher education we are meeting more or less an eruption of ideas and ambitions to create and transfer knowledge in different ways and with partially new qualities.

The role of universities is changing with the increasing importance of knowledge, competence and research in society. This requires consciousness of certain aspects important to institutions of higher education such as integrity, scientific qualities and forms of education. It also requires consciousness and respect for aspects important to institutions in society such as for example efficiency, profitability and cultural and social values. In the new system of higher education new forms of interaction with society are developed. Universities and colleges are becoming more 'demand-oriented' organizations than was formerly the case. That is, they are no more only 'supply-oriented' institutions.

The reform was governed by ambitions to open the universities - to offer higher education to many new groups of people besides the traditional students. One ambition was to make different types of post-secondary educational programs equivalent to each other - an effort to create a unitary and a formally simple and standardized system of higher education. The idea was that such a unitary system would, among other things, simplify the development of programs for recurrent education and lifelong learning.

A main objective of the reform was, as a consequence of the basic ideology, to develop sound relations between university and working life. A new basic dimension in planning higher education was added to the traditional theoretical or academic frame of reference; namely, connection to working life. All higher educational programs were to be planned in relation to both scientific and vocational dimensions. One could also say that every program of higher education should be developed in consideration of both internal and external factors concerning university standards.

According to the general political ambitions there were initially formulated three main objectives of the new system that started 1977. These objectives are nationwide and the idea is that the new system of higher education will facilitate them.

1.1 The Principle of Differentiated Programs

First, the institutions of higher education should offer a broader and more differentiated supply of courses and

programs than before. The interests of society, regions, industries, authorities, organizations and individuals -should be combined with the internal interests of the universities. A system of long-term study programs (2-6 year programs with fixed structures) in five different sectors was developed. The sectors are defined by specific vocational areas; technique, administration with economy and social work, health care, education and culture with information. A special system of short and single courses completes the system in purpose to provide a wide range of education for people not having the interest or need for the longer programs, i.e. adults.

1.2 The Principle of Accessibility

Accessibility was the second basic objective of the reform. Institutions of higher education should become easier to reach for different categories of people - both in social and geographical respects. New rules for entering different programs were developed. One can now qualify for university admission in many different ways where both theoretical and vocational experiences will be taken into consideration. New institutions of higher education were founded to satisfy the demands of geographical and regional accessibility.

We now have fourteen new University Colleges, organizationally based upon education alone. These are complements to the traditional universities, that are oganizationally research biased. In principle today we have a structure of higher education for 300.000 people. In addition to the decentralization of the system of higher education, new forms of distribution and performing education are developed. This means that we now can provide different forms of higher education in many places outside the traditional universities and the university colleges. It also means that we in principle can reach a number of new categories of students, for example adults and people with non-conventional theoretical backgrounds.

1.3. The Influence of Society

The third objective of the reform was to open the university to influence of society. In the boards and planning committees of the institutions of higher education we now have participate people or delegates that never before did take part in the process of decision-making in higher education. On the departmental level, however, the responsibility for the institutions is still left to students and professionals. A third of the delegates in the boards of the universities today are politicians or representatives of the organizations of the labor market. In the planning committees, a third of the delegates consist of representatives from relevant vocational areas.

2. GENERAL ASPECTS

The reform of higher education in Sweden gave us an opportunity to develop a flexible university system. Quality and change are the basic dimensions by which the situation can be assessed. The most obvious effect of the reform is the creation of 14 new institutions of higher education that are not primarily geared towards research. These are built upon other premises than the traditional universities. The unitary system of higher educations is the guarantee of the basic values and structures of all institutions of higher education. Every university and university college is an autonomous institution principally reporting directly to the government. The university colleges are presented in Figure 1 below.

2.1 Regional Development in Perspective

The university colleges play a special role in developing the new system of higher education in Sweden. These institutions are relatively small and have more flexible planning systems than the traditional universities. They also have had the opportunity to form cultures of their own. The programs offered by these institutions are specialized. This means that every institution

Table 1. NEW ENTRANTS AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGES IN SWEDEN DURING THE 1985/86 ACADEMIC YEAR.

Regional Centres	Total	SECTOR Technical	Social and Economic	Education	Culture
Örebro	1 015	50	582	328	55
Karlstad	812	192	276	294	50
Växjö	710	66	340	259	45
Sundsvall/ Härnösand	638	273	100	240	25
Eskilstuna/ Västerås	504	258	60	186	
Jönköping	502	114	95	258	35
Kalmar	498	294	30	174	
Falun/Borlänge	482	135	130	217	
Gävle/Sandviken	402	90	60	252	
Borås	400	60	90		250
Östersund	350	20	330		
Kristianstad	337	25	90	222	
Halmstad	192	72	30	90	
Skövde	98	48	50		
TOTAL NUMBER OF ENTRANTS	6 940	1 697	2 263	2 520	460

of higher education in Sweden is unique in some respects. Planning is primarily adjusted to regional needs but also to the programs other institutions of higher education develop. Complementarity is thus a basic idea of our new institutions of higher education. The programs are developed in co-operation between institutions of higher education. The premise, the idea and the strength is institutional autonomy in a unitary system.

All university colleges work in close co-operation with national and regional planning units. Here we find interesting complements to the work carried out by the traditional universities. University colleges often look upon themselves as presenting links between systems of knowledge and society. Different types of linkages are developed in order to facilitate the interaction between the university and society at large.

2.2 New Consiousness of Quality

In Sweden we now have a debate about criteria of quality, integrity and efficiency of academic work. When the reformed system of higher education started to operate at the end of the 1970s, many people were afraid of generally decreasing qualities in both education and research as a consequence of the more open university. The experience of ten years work and development now tells us that this is not the case. Instead, we now have professionals within our institutions of higher education that are better trained than ever to handle most of the important qualitative questions of basic interest to the running of the system.

2.3 Understanding of Internal Conditions

One important effect of the reform (and possibly the most important one) can be found outside the institutions of higher education. It concerns the awareness of the conditions for higher education and research that has grown among people that formerly seldom had any reason to take part in questions connected to the development of knowledge and competence. As the political and economic dependence of scientific knowledge and competence rapidly increases in society this is of special importance. For the society it may mean better consiousness of possibilities offered by institutions of higher education. Politicians from 15 counties that formerly did not have any institution of the kind, learned a lot about the conditions of higher education as well. The possibility of developing the system of higher education increases with this growing understanding of its general condition among people outside the academic elite.

2.4 The New University Colleges

From a rector's point of view it must be the development of the new institutions, the university colleges, that are of critical interest when evaluating the Swedish reform of higher education. These institutions show the effects of both internal and external factors related to the reform. Also in these institutions, the consequenses of the reform can be observed earlier than at traditional universities. My assumption is that the 10 years of experience from the new institutions will give ideas of how the whole university system will develop in the future, since, a new kind of institution for development is created - the NEW UNIVERSITY.

3. FLEXIBILITY AND MECHANISMS OF CHANGE: POSSIBILITIES OF DEVELOPING NEW EDUCATIONAL PROGAMS

University colleges have many opportunities to become dynamic institutions. New programs that require cross-disciplinary approaches also require non-traditional institutions. The disciplinary protectionism that characterizes many traditional university departments is often the main reason why such innovative cross-disciplinary programs are rare at university. Among the good examples of programs that quite efficiently were developed by the new university colleges are the combined chemistry-economics line in Karlstad, the engineering/product development course in Halmstad, and the manufacturing program in Sundsvall /Härnösand. My assumption is that it would have been difficult - if not impossible - to develop these programs at traditional universities.

3.1 Multidimensionality

Flexibility is attained by developing new types of departments within the university college. These multidisciplinary departments are typical for the new institutions. In some places, one can even find departments in which social scientists, natural scientists and technologists co-operate. Other departments are set up for special programs or areas of competence such as, for example, the department of communications in Sundsvall/Härnösand.

With the new organizational premisses we have created organizational possibilities to develop or take care of programs that do not fit in the traditional university. At Sundsvall/Härnösand college we have, for example, developed several two or three year programs in engineering. These programs are of interest because they combine special fields such as electronics, computer science and manufacturing. Therefore they are of great importance for the development of industry. It was impossible to develop such programs at the traditional Institutes of Technology or the universities mainly due to their internal planning procedures. In conclusion, it would seem that institutions organized cross-disciplinary have greater opportunities to develop new programs and structures of higher education.

3.2 New Institutions as Resources for Testing Non-conventional Programs

The value of the reformed system of higher education has been highlighted by the rapidly increasing demand from society for new services in connection with education and research. Our new institutions of higher education have quite easily adapted to these new demands, and have turned out to be valuable complements to the more established universities.

3.2.1 Co-operation Between Traditional and New Institutions

The university colleges can be used as test laboratories for programs or ideas developed at the old universities. As an example we can mention two programs at the university college of Halmstad; engineering of product development and mechatronics. These programs were cross-disciplinary and without connection to the traditional structure used to educate civil engineers. They were developed by a team of young doctors at the university of Lund in co-operation with Chalmers Institute of Technology.

Although these programs were adjusted to industrial needs, due to the internal competition of resources and of principles of educational planning at established institutions there was no chance of starting any of them. When the University college of Halmstad was founded, new possibilities were created. In Halmstad, these programs are now performed with great success.

3.2.2 Working-life Connection

Traditionally, eduational planning in higher education has been largely an internal affair of the university. Due to the reform we can now find a number of interesting means of co-operation between university and the workplaces. In Sundsvall/Härnösand, which is a center of industry, we have a good example of this.

During the 1970s pulp and paper industries were restructured and rationalized. They changed from mechanic based to electronic based technologies. This implied a rapidly increasing need for new competence. In co-operation with industries, educational programs were started by the university college in phase with rationalizing the processes of the biggest industries in the region. The competence for planning this education was mainly delivered from industries themselves. The university college has successively been able to build up its own competence to a certain degree, but the co-operation is still going on.

3.2.3 Regional Competence and Academic Standards

The challenge for the new institution is to keep its flexibility in net-works that are being transformed into more stable structures. In Sundsvall/Härnösand, we have tried to deal with this problem through the training of personnel and through organizational development. In Table 2, the eight different education and research sectors of the university college of Sundsvall/Härnösand are shown.

Table 2. Basic areas of competence at the University College of Sundsvall/Härnösand

AREA	DESCRIPTION OF COMPETENCE AREA
1.	**Applied technology of systems**
2.	**Chemistry and technology of materials**
3.	**Manufacturing and maintenance technique**
4.	**Business administration and systems analysis**
5.	**Communications**
6.	**Teacher training**
7.	**Social work**
8.	**Local culture**

In each of these sectors we have developed long-term programs (2-3,5 years), standardized short courses (5-40 weeks) and capacities to develop tailor made courses (the demand for the latter increases rapidly).

Each field of competence developed by the university college of Sundsvall /Härnösand is a result of an analysis of regional needs for knowledge development. It also is complementary in the national system; at least the profile is balancing the programs of the other institutions of higher education in northern Sweden.

The basic principle for the organizational structure of the university college is however that the local efforts and premisses have to be put in a global perspective. This is especially important when new educational programs are developed. As the quality of the new programs must be guaranteed, new instruments for evaluation must be developed.

4. ACCESSIBILITY, DIFFUSION AND CLOSENESS

The location of the university colleges has affected the applications for higher education positively. In 1987 we have about 30.000 students at these institutions, which is more than 20 per cent of all students at our universities and colleges. (Financially, the university colleges are quite cheap as they take about 5 per cent of the total national budget for higher education and research.)

One reason of the 1975-higher education reform was to try to get a more egalitarian picture of applicants of higher education in comparison with the situation during the 1960s. At that time students were mainly coming from the neighbourhood of universities and from socially and economically well-situated circumstances and they were young. With the increasing needs for educated people and with increasing efforts to create equality in society higher education was focused as a main and important object for change. Higher education was, for many, and for obvious reasons, regarded as the instrument for change. The problems with geographic, social and economic differences in opportunities to follow higher education were to be solved. Institutions for higher education were spread out in the country taking the form of university colleges. Most people in Sweden today can reach an institution of higher education in an hour (more than 95 per cent of the population can reach such an institution in less than two hours).

4.1 Applicants from New Areas

One effect of the new locations of university colleges is that groups of people that did not enter institutions of higher education before now try those programs more and more. Such phenomena are now disappearing. Especially the geographic balance has become better during the last decade.

4.2 New Forms of Education for New Categories of Students

The development of new forms for distributing higher education has influenced application rates positively, especially among adults. Adult programs are now regular at many of our universities and university colleges. However, the adult students have been neglected during the beginning of the 80s because of the boom of young students during this period. The programs of education for adult students are becoming more numerous. Also, it is likely that the idea to make higher education accessible to adults is going to be realized.

The situation can be described by some figures from the university college of Sundsvall/Härnösand. In the period 1977-1980 we had an age average of 33 years. This was the result of a strategy within the college; the board had given priority to adults. The young student boom led to economic difficulties in society, which made politicians to allocate money to young students. In Sundsvall/Härnösand the result of that was that we only could run a limited number of courses adjusted to adult needs. The age average was as a consequence lowered.

During the initial phase different didactic forms were developed. Distance education, decentralized education and various forms of intensive courses were set up. The university colleges are institutions for experiments with new forms of education. These experiments were performed in collaboration with several of the more established universities. In northern Sweden Umeå university has played a role in developing alternative forms of education. The result of the effort to reach both young and adult students is that we have developed routines for alternative education. We are in a position to plan and operate tailor made courses.

The experience of the attempt to make higher education accessible to different categories of students is generally positive.

4.3 Contacts with Organizations and the Work Places

Another effect of the reform is the increasing frequency of contacts between the university colleges and industries, organizations and authorities. During the 1970s, the university colleges established new contacts with their surroundings. These contacts did generally succeed.

Most institutions of higher education are defined as centers of competence - a resource for the work environments of the region. Industries buy tailor made educational programs from university colleges. This development is especially interesting with regard to the university colleges. This is shown in Table 3.

Not just educational programs are asked for. Even research projects and knowledge transfers are initiated by the institutions of higher education.

In the university colleges these types of programs have increased rapidly. This is indicated by the data presented in Table 4. Expectations upon the university colleges develop rapidly in most areas. Resources have not increased at the same rate as the expectations. The result is that special organizations (SO), which are closely related to the universities and university colleges, have been devoloped. These have several tasks. Mainly they are functioning as links between the university and working life. As the university colleges do not have research organizations of their own, the SO can function as a complement in this respect by administrating

Table 3. EXPENDITURES ON RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGES IN SWEDEN (IN THOUSANDS OF SWEDISH KRONOR).)

	Externally financed		Internally financed
REGIONAL CENTRES	1980/81	1985/86	1985/86
Örebro	1 800	4 200	1 340
Karlstad	3 000	5 000	1 305
Växjö	950	6 500	1 595
Sundsvall/Härnösand	1 000	2 900	1 115
Eskilstuna/Västerås	0	0	390
Jönköping	0	865	530
Kalmar	800	2 850	735
Falun/Borlänge	200	1 000	560
Gävle/Sandviken	0	0	485
Borås	0	400	420
Östersund	1 000	2 500	780
Kristianstad	0	300	450
Halmstad	50	600	250
Skövde	0	100	90
TOTAL (1000 SEK)	8 800	29 465	10 045

research projects. More important is, however, its role as a service institution when introducing new enterprises to an institution of higher education.

4.3.1 SISY - Institute of Systems Technology

As an example of an SO we here will mention the Institute of Systems Technology (SISY) that was started in Sundsvall in 1980. The objective was to develop new competence in a region characterized by pulp and paper industries and other process industries, all of them very dependent on electrical energy. The region has because of these enterprises a vulnerable economic structure. Regional authorities, industry and other institutions turned to the university college to get ideas for creating complements to traditional production. SISY was founded - with the aim - to bring out competence in electronics and computer-based technologies for both manufacturing and design. Small enterprises were a designated goal group for the organization. SISY also gave the possibility to take care of young students trying to start something of their own.

Table 4. EXPENDITURE ON EXTERNAL EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGES IN SWEDEN (IN THOUSANDS OF SWEDISH KRONOR).)

REGIONAL CENTRES	TOTAL 1980/81	TOTAL 1985/86	Technology, Administration & Computer Science
Örebro	150	1 800	400
Karlstad	150	1 850	1 170
Växjö	0	2 730	2 450
Sundsvall/Härnösand	1 000	4 340	2 580
Eskilstuna/Västerås	0	6 000	4 000
Jönköping	0	630	300
Kalmar	300	2 450	1 000
Falun/Borlänge	0	1 200	1 090
Gävle/Sandviken	150	2 400	1 500
Borås	0	670	170
Östersund	600	600	150
Kristianstad	100	2 000	200
Halmstad	0	1 500	1 400
Skövde	0	590	590
TOTAL (1000 SEK)	2 450	28 760	17 000

Among the results of SISYs work we, as an example, can mention the development of Timrå Elektronikcentrum, a center for small enterprises with connection to the electronics industry. It started 1983 in a building of 400 m^2. Today there are four buildings occupying 3.000 m^2. From the beginning there were a few newly founded small firms, all of them related to SISY-projects. Today we have a number of small firms but also more established consulting enterprises which find the environment stimulating.

4.3.2 The Mitt-CAD-project

Another example from SISY as a basis for developing net-works is an inter-scandinavian project in CAD/CAM developed in co-operation with the Technological Institute of Trondheim, Norway. The Scandinavian governments put money in a technology transfer program for stimulating the development and application of new techniques in sparcely populated areas in the middle of Norway, Sweden and Finland. A two-year program, the Mitt-CAD-project,

which operated from 1983 to 1985, resulted in new centers employing CAD/CAM in all three countries and outside the densely populated areas. The project was mainly administrated by SISY. A net-work was developed by and between institutions of higher education and highly qualified industries. Beside our own institution and the Technological Institute of Trondheim, several institutions of higher education took part, such as the universities of Jyväskylä and Vaasa in Finland, the University College of Östersund in Sweden, and the District College of Nordtröndelag in Steinkjer, Norway.

The effect of this SISY-project is that the introduction of CAD/CAM-technology has been accelerated in many middle-sized industries. In Västernorrland county, where the university college of Sundsvall/Härnösand is located, several companies have invested in equipment for this technology.

4.4 A Linkage System Developed

From SISY and other similar projects around the country, several types of links between the system of higher education and society have developed. In Sundsvall/Härnösand we have constructed a link organization connecting all competence areas of the university college. See Table 2. Every link is constructed and organized as an autonomous institute. This means that many different interests are represented on the boards. As a byresult, the university college can draw support from a number of organizations.

The link-organization and its projects is also used as a co-ordinator of different interests pertaining to education and research in the region. The university college also has developed a basis for the future planning of basic programs.

4.4.1 Liaison Office

The third task of institutions of higher education (besides research and education) is the liaison function. This function was before the university reform limited to a few institutions. As an important result of the reform, demand and need for more efficient liaison services are increasing. Experiences from the link-organizations have been used for developing liaison offices adjusted to regional needs.

In Sundsvall/Härnösand a liaison office was founded in the year 1983. It was evaluated in 1986 with many interesting results. Among liaisoned projects in Västernorrland country during the period 1983-1985 we found nearly all universities and other research based institutions in Sweden represented in some way. This means that the university college is functioning as a "gate keeper" organization between regional interests and capacities present in the national system of higher education. In some projects the liaison office has developed international contacts as well.

4.4.2 Sundsvall Business and Technical Center (BTC)

During the process of developing networks for new competence we would notice increasing needs for special services and localities for new high competence enterprises. Many kinds of so-called industrial, technological and scientific parks were investigated and different models were tested. The final solution chosen was inspired by organizations found in the USA and, among others in the Netherlands.

A business and technological center (BTC) was founded and new accomodation was built. Companies located at the center are related both to the programs of the university college and to other regional premisses. This means that the new institutions of higher education in Sweden demonstrate interesting examples of establishing high competence in companies outside metropolitan areas or the regions around big universities. Models for offering alternatives to common locations are found around several of the university colleges.

4.4.3 Using External Teachers and Researchers

A general dilemma in building a new institution of higher education relates to the recruitment of teachers. Especially when experiencing a student boom, the problem increases. The reform of higher education in Sweden was introduced just prior to the occurrence of such a new student boom, which started in 1980. The competition for skilled teachers became pronounced within the system in the beginning of the 1980s.

As we in Sundsvall/Härnösand at the time already had started co-operation concerning educational planning with some industries and other institutions with competence of interest for our porgrams we got the idea of using these people, from outside, also for teaching matters. We have now found at least 1.000 people within the county with relevant competence in relation to different programs at the university college. Many of these people are now partially working as teachers at the college. An external net-work of teachers is created.

The effect of this recruitment policy is that besides the ordinary staff of 225 people the university college of Sundsvall/Härnösand today is using another 300 people from outside as part-time teachers. Over 200 of these are coming from industries and organizations outside the university system, while the rest are ordinary university teachers from other institutions for higher education around the country.

As a consequence the external teachers used at the college are key persons in the development of both external and internal net-works of importance for education and research. A special consequence is a growing responsibility among many surrounding institutions for the development of the university college, their own institution of higher education.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Increasing flexibility and accessibility of institutions of higher education are the most important effects of the Swedish reform as seen from the desk of a rector at a university college. But the reform has had many other effects both within the institutions and outside.

One effect is that especially the university colleges and their personnel often have been used as instruments for development in their regions. Our specialists have taken part in planning and investigations in connection with development and change in existing cultural, social and economic institutions.

In Sundsvall/Härnösand this has happened in many ways. For example in the local organization of social work. This institution has been reorganized as a result of a co-operation between the new university and the communal authorities. One side effect here is that a program for post-graduate education in social work has been developed in Sundsvall in close collboration with the university college of Sundsvall/Härnösand and the University of Umeå.

Other examples of new roles for the university college concern regional economic planning. This is also related to the principle of net-working. Regional policy planning and the planning of higher education is in many parts of the country integrated to a large extent. The credibility of the university has grown among regional planners during the reform period. We here have an example of the importance of co-operation for increased understanding of the conditions of work in different institutions.

Culturally, or among cultural institutions, expectations with regard to the new universities are growing rapidly. Lectures, seminars and conferences are concrete products, and examples of areas where the universities are skilled to perform. Also in the cultural debate university people take part. This implies an important support to the

development of cultural activities and institutions outside the metropolitan areas.

Generally one can say that the reform of higher education and the introduction of the new institutions all around in Sweden has activated many regions both economically and culturally. The development of projects, activities and organizations must be regarded as an effect of the reform and of the work of the new institutions of higher education. Indeed, an important objective of the effort to integrate and develop the system of higher education is to achieve an inter-regional economic balance in the country.

Net-working and synergism are key concepts in this process. Interests in and care for institutions of higher education are rapidly increasing and widely spread around both country and society. Understanding of conditions outside the institutions of higher education is now developed among personnel at our universities as never before. We are not afraid of relations to society and societal institutions any more. We have found out how important it is for institutions of higher education to keep their character as knowledge producers and cultural activators.

In the beginning there was a risk that the new institutions of higher education, under pressures emanating from regional needs and interests, would develop to become consulting firms of some sort. However, up to date experiences show that the successful university or university college is the one that has learned both to develop efficient interaction with society through net-working, and, at the same time, knows to stress the scientific and cultural standards characterizing this interaction.

The experiences of the first ten years of the reformed university system of Sweden have given us many possibilities. At the same time the old structures have had to be changed. Hard work has been done. The first phase is now completed and we have gained opportunities to develop respectful universities based on scientific and cultural qualities and on capacities of change - a university of the knowledge society - the new university.

CORPORATE CLASSROOMS OR FREE ACADEMIES? A LOOK AT THE FUTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

By Kenneth Abrahamsson
Swedish National Board of Education

An Introductory Comment*

The term **'corporate classrooms'** is used by Nell P. Eurich in the book bearing the same title (Corporate Classrooms - The Learning Business, 1985). There is no adequate Swedish translation of the term, and so we use other terms corresponding to words like 'personnel and in-company training'. The term 'company training school' is also used in Sweden, but only to a limited extent because basic vocational education is mostly the responsibility of the public school system (high schools, vocational high schools, municipal adult education facilities, training courses for the unemployed and institutions of higher education).

The conclusions and results that Eurich arrives at are very interesting, but can only partly be applied to conditions in Sweden. In the first place we must recognize the fact that there are great differences between American and Swedish university and college education. Almost all post-secondary education in Sweden is state-financed and regulated, while in the United States there is a broad spectrum of both public and private educational institutions of higher education. Also, no universities in Sweden are owned and managed by large corporations, e.g. McDonald's Hamburger University. Within areas of business in Sweden, the term 'university' is used loosely, and denote courses given by companies, such as for example the 'S E Bank University'. Nevertheless, the curricula offered by these 'universities' cannot be compared with their counterparts in the United States. One exception, however, is the degree-oriented program of higher education offered during company time that was recently started by the ASEA company meant for for technicians and engineers. It is a part-time program lasting for two to three years.

An interesting parallel with Eurich's discussion is the growth of personnel training since the end of the 1970s. In the one-year period between the spring of 1986 and 1987, the number of courses and training programs offered by companies and institutions in both the public and private sector has, according to a number of estimates, increased by about 6 per cent.

New Conditions in Swedish Adult Education

The various popular movements in Sweden have played an active role in a historical perspective, not only in the development of adult education in Sweden during the last century, but also as a platform for providing learning opportunities. Three examples illustrate this development. First the establishment of folk high schools around 1860. Second, the extramural tradition of the universities starting in the 1890's. And third, the study circles beginning at

* I am grateful to Mr. Sven Sundin, Statistics Sweden, for helping med with the survey-data materials presented in sections six and seven.

the turn of the century. These developments continued more or less uninterrupted until the mid-1960's.

After that point there was a definite change. The Swedish state initiated a series of educational reforms, such as the ones leading to the initiation of municipal adult education and thereafter basic educational programs for adults. The new law concerning the right to leave-of-absence for studies and also new schemes for adult study assistance came into effect during the seventies. Another important measure was the higher education reform of 1977, which was based on the idea of recurrent education and on the importance of job experience and overall experience of life for eligibility. Towards the end of the 1970's Parliament decided to set an upper limit for the costs of each sector of adult and higher education, thereby introducing the concept of "framework planning". This implied that state support could be allocated to different forms of education.

There now seems to be a new development in the making where adult education is becoming more and more a concern of various market interests.

This new shift can be seen in three ways. First, AMU (Swedish Labor Market Training Programs) has been placed under a new authority, the AMU Board, as of Jan. 1, 1986. The board will probably act as a sort of an 'educational broker' for labor market training (Govt. Bill 1984/85:59 and Sw. Code of Statues 1985:833).

Second, Parliament was positive to the bill (84/85:195) concerning commissioned or sponsored training programs. This meant that all educational institutions such as universities, high schools and other institutions at the upper secondary level, as well as municipal adult education, adult education associations and folk high schools would be able to sell courses to companies, organizations and government agencies.

Third, one must mention the interest aroused by the Swedish renewal funds. These funds are based on the principle that companies must allocate 10 per cent of their profits to funds that are used for research, development and adult education. The bill (1984/85:86) stipulated that all companies with a 1985-based profit exceeding 500.000 Swedish kronor had to contribute to these renewal funds.

In this context it must be mentioned that personnel of training is becoming common in Sweden. An interesting aspect is that the number of educational opportunities offered by employers are greater within the public sector than in the private sector. This is of course worth noting, since the increasing involvement in this type of education by the different parties on the labor market, and also because renewal funds have recently been instituted, might lead one to believe that personnel training is the result of initiatives within the private sector.

It is also interesting to examine the kinds of financial assistance for studies that are available in corporate classrooms. There are educational grants available to those taking part in vocational training courses for the unemployed. These do not have to be repaid. For other groups of adults there are other types of study assistance to be obtained, mainly in the form of loans. There are those who finance their studies by working full- or part-time. As far as commissioned training programs are concerned, it might be assumed that studies will take place during company time for those employees who are already well-educated, while blue-collar workers might have to use their own time off work. Will some portion of the studies take place outside the working environment? It might be a good idea to gain abetter insight into how the financing of studies takes place even for these programs.

Personnel Development and Curriculum Design - A Narrow Outlook or Broad Horizons?

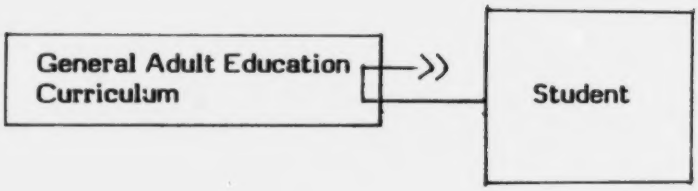
There is an interesting challenge of a pedagogical nature when it comes to the use of renewal funds, even though these do not apply to all lines of business. The challenge has to do with the fact that all measures of an educational nature that are undertaken must be new measures. This means that it is not possible to use money allocated to renewal funds for some existing project or personnel training program. According to the original terms of agreement, renewal funds are meant to be used to improve an employee's capability of performing his or her work within the company. There is a limited, but also challenging condition laid down for the use of sponsored training program. The sponsored program should serve as a complement to the general curriculum provided by state-financed institutions of adult and higher education.

The two conditions stated above - together with the stipulation that "renewal programs" are to be used mainly for "priority groups", i.e. women, those with less than a normal basic education and also newly hired employees - point to the fact that there is a need for a systematic and well-founded strategy in order to meet future demands on adult education. It is also important that a constructive and reasonable dialogue be carried out between various companies, trade unions and also the different schools and educational organizations. In the end no one profits by everyone trying to "lay their hands on" as much as poosible. A far-reaching assessment of needs must be followed by an analysis of how the company or organization can contribute to its own design of internal programs, and which areas are in need of external educational programs.

Several questions can be posed here: Is there any chance that available resources will be used **more** for short-term and purely vocational training than for general education and education for civic, political and community competence? Will there be a lack of balance between the curriculum offered in personnel development, vocational training and that offered in liberal arts and social studies? What will happen to subjects like Swedish, mathematics and foreign languages? Last, but not least: Which people will be able to take advantage of the new situation? What about those people on the Swedish labor market who are given priorities, i.e. those without a basic education, women, immigrants and employees of small and medium-sized companies? Who bears the responsibility for individuals outside of the labor market, such as the unemployed or the handicapped? It is interesting to observe that both basic skills and liberal education were taught in the corporate classrooms that were studied by Eurich. (1985).

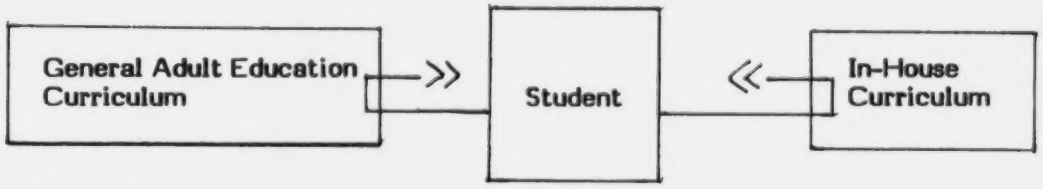
The Relationships Between School-and Work-Oriented Adult Education

Roughly speaking, we can differentiate between school-oriented and work-oriented adult education. What determines whether or not a certain program is to be defined as personnel training is whether or not it is partly or fully employer-subsidized. Therefore certain general courses within municipal adult education programs can be defined as being personnel training for some groups. However, the relationship between general adult education and personnel training acquires new aspects as a result of sponsored training programs. This relationship can be expressed schematically in several ways. Within this context, one must try to see how the various combinations can serve to support both active and productive vocational training.



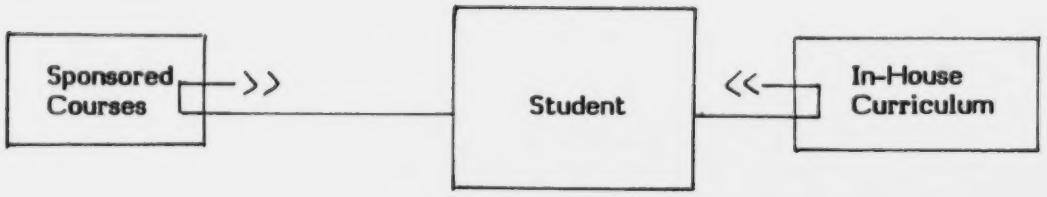
Model 1: Personnel Training as Part of a General Curriculum

An individual is recommended by his employer to take part in courses with a general adult education curriculum. (This should occur during company time in order to be considered personnel training.)



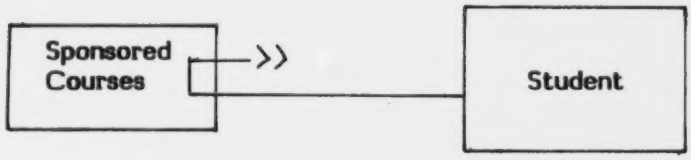
Model 2: Company-Oriented Program of Studies

Certain courses offered by adult education facilities are part of a company's own internal program of studies.



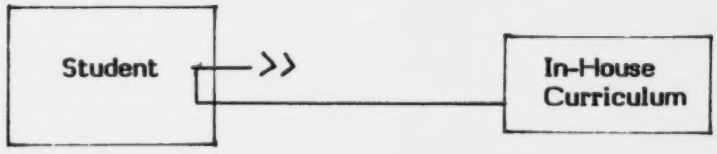
Model 3: Supplementary Sponsored Courses

A company purchases a supplementary program of studies as a complement to its own in-house training.



Model 4: Specially Designed Sponsored Courses

A company purchases a specially designed curriculum, tailor-made for specific employee needs.



Model 5: In-House Personnel Training

A company does all personnel training on its own, possibly with the help of consultants.

The above-mentioned situations are but a few of the different ways in which an individual can take part in adult education programs, i.e. through in-house training, through public adult education facilities or through various organizations or associations. The outlining of these situations poses at least two questions. The first question is how these new net-works will function as far as renewal funding is concerned.

The other question has to do with the aspects of vocational training that are the most important in new study programs which are formed as a result of the co-operation between schools, organizations and companies. Sponsored study programs can undoubtedly act as a stimulus to research and development about teaching and teacher training, practical and theoretical exercises, course material and the use of technical equipment. Special attention should be directed towards interspersing theoretical exercises with practical on-the-job experience. Attention should also be paid to developing special assistance to adults with little or no experience in studying and to those with a low measure of self-confidence. As far as a policy of redistribution is concerned, it is important to ensure that these programs also benefit those who do not have good study habits or skills.

Half of Sweden's Adult Population Take Courses

Almost one million individuals took part in some sort of personnel training during the spring of 1986. These studies were either fully or partly paid for by employers.

Prior to 1986, no official statistics about personnel training in Sweden were available. With the data from the 1986 survey we can estimate how many people took part in adult education courses and at what level these courses were given. We can even see results broken down by the counties in Sweden. The Table 1 presents the approximate number of individuals studying at various adult educational levels in 1986:

There were three different aspects which the survey did not take into account, namely:

- the conversion factor: member of study circle - individual
- the upward-adjustment factor for personnel training: studies for one term - studies for one year
- overlapping, students in more than one course of studies (i.e. both study circle and personnel training)

The number of adults taking part in courses for the space of one year should lie somewhere within the above interval. This means a total of 45-59 per cent for the entire labor force. Half of the population takes part in some form of organized study program each year. As can be seen this is achieved in many different ways, from purely elective courses to programs of study that are vitally necessary to an individual for some reason or another. The length and content of the studies vary also from one-day courses to full-time university studies.

Table 1. The Number of Individuals Participating in Different Forms of Adult Education during 1986.

Type of School or Course	Number of Students
Basic Curriculum	21 000
Municipal Adult Education	220 000
Folk High Schools	250 000
Study Circles	1 500 000
Personnel Training	1 450 000
Labor market training	45 000
University Extensioncourses for Adults	70 000
Total (approximated no of individuals)	2 100 000 - 3 600 000

Those who had received the least education accounted for the lowest percentage of adults taking part in personnel training. The lowest figures (12 per cent) were for the group with a previous education of less than nine years.

Table 2 shows the number of people employed in Sweden during the spring of 1986, their educational background, and the percentage of each educational level that took part in some sort of personnel training.

Table 2.* Number of Individuals Employed in 1986, their Previous Education and Percentage Taking Part in Personnel Training.

Educational Background	Number of Individuals	% of Total	% Involved in Personnel Training
Less than 9 yrs.	918 800	21	12
9 yrs.	582 100	13	15
2 yr. High School	1 320 500	30	20
3-4 yr. High School	608 100	14	27
Post-secondary Education	863 100	20	37
Total:	4 355 000	100	22 (avg.)

* The above table does not show those reporting some other background or where some detail has been omitted.

In all of Sweden there were 516,000 men and 454,000 women that took part in studies which were subsidized by their employer in some way. These figures represent 23 per cent of all employed men and 22 per cent of all employed women. There is of course a lower rate of personnel training for part-time employed and the rate tends to decrease 45 years of age.

How Do Renewal Funds Compare to Normal Personnel Training?

One aim of the survey was to ascertain how many individuals took part in personnel training **before** the advent of the renewal funds. The approximately 1 million individuals who received financial support from their employers for the purpose of studying were distributed as shown in Table 3 below.

No questions were asked in the survey about different costs, but given a few suppositions about decline in production and "teacher resources", for example, we can arrive at an approximate assessment of what personnel training costs as a whole. Expressed in figures for the space of 1 year, the total cost of all personnel training ought to be between 11 and 15 billion Swedish kronor.

Table 3. Distribution of Participants in Employer-Sponsored Personnel Training by Course Duration, Spring 1986.

Duration of Courses	Number of Participants	Proportionate Number of Women Participants
1-2 days	383,700	207,700
3-5 days	323,700	132,700
1 week - 1 month	187,600	76,400
1 month or longer	74,400	36,800

More money then became available for personnel training, starting in the autumn of 1986, as a result of the renewal funds which the Swedish parliament had approved at an earlier stage. Renewal funds are tied-up and restricted for 5 years if labor negotiations at a local level, including right of veto for the labor union, do not result in use of the funds at an earlier stage. The total amount accumulated by renewal funds from all companies (about 6000) was almost 5,2 billion Swedish kronor.

At the turn of the year applications for a total of 1,8 billion Swedish kronor had been approved. About 40 per cent of this total was money for purposes of personnel training. If these circumstances continue to prevail, renewal funds will contribute about 2 billion kronor to personnel training over a five year period. This can be compared to the sum of 60 billion kronor (5 x 11-15) which companies already allocate. The effects of the renewal funds are totally dependent on what they are used for - i.e. compensation for decline in production or personnel training. Thus renewal funds can only be seen as a supplement to the already extensive personnel training resources to be drawn upon. At the same time as personnel training is one of the most vital and expanding forms of adult education today, it is also the least studied and appraised.

A View of In-Service Training in the Context of General Adult Education and Personnel Training

One of the most important questions raised in the current Swedish debate on post-compulsory education is the proposal of a third year of on-the-spot vocational training for those taking two-year vocational training courses at upper-secondary level. The proposal has met with a very positive response from Swedish employers' associations, trade unions and Swedish post-secondary schools. The interest shown can be seen as an important indication of the need for a general increase in vocational qualifications in Swedish society and working life. It is assumed that a third year of vocational training would give an individual a better basis for recurrent education.

Within the sphere of adult education policy, higher education and formal adult education received the greatest interest during the 1970s. Nowadays personnel training has become the new chief concern of policymakers in this field. Their expectations are considerable. Personnel training by means of renewal funds and commissioned or sponsored programs is expected to provide new sources of financial support to colleges and universities and to Swedish adult education as a whole. It is also expected to give Sweden renewed competitiveness and a more efficient and service-oriented public sector. Furthermore, demands are made on personnel training in the eighties that it should have the same political objective of redistribution that was an integral part of the educational reforms of the 1970s. These demands are reflected in the decision of the Swedish parliament to appropriate renewal funds especially for the lesser-educated and other groups in danger of being left behind in the wake of new technology.

It is important to discuss who is to decide what the goals of adult education and higher education are to be in the future. The role of the individual, the labor market and society in general and the relationship between them and the costs involved must also be discussed. The aims of the reforms of adult education and higher education in the 1970's must serve as a basis for such discussions. The role of adult education as a strategic factor in a knowledge-oriented society should be defined. In the long run there must be a far reaching strategy for continuing along the lines of the educational reforms of the 1970's - where there are still large groups of individuals with needs to be met - and at the same time look towards future goals and educational reforms yet to be defined.

The Need for a Dynamic Policy of Adult and Continuing Education

In view of this future outlook there is a need for a deeper discussion about the educational norms, attitudes and community interests that will determine the future course of events. There are several possibilities, of which three are mentioned here:

1. Increased state intervention

   This would entail a situation where state interests, as reflected in equal rights, citizenship and a general level of competency, give rise to continued financial and pedagogical support to adult education at the point where upper secondary school leaves off and both municipal adult education and higher education begin.

2. A freer market orientation

   This possibility encompasses a more expansive market orientation by the development of **"corporate classrooms"** or schools under the auspices of various corporations. It is interesting to note the development of this kind of education in the United States. As mentioned above, corporations and private interests have administered their own "universities" there for many years.

3. A broadened role for popular movements

   In this scenario, a pronounced role and autonomy for popular educational institutions is achieved, based on fundamental concepts of freedom of choice in education and the lack of control by state or corporate interests. One example relates to the of **open universities or free academies.** Another example comprises individual or collective self-learning projects.

In a future perspective there is a need for an all-encompassing policy and strategy for the way in which the different types of adult education are to function both together and individually as separate entities, each with its own individual profile. There is nothing at all to be gained by combining all of these types of education into one mass conglomerate.

What is needed is an **active** policy of adult and continuing education, both in order to continue along the established lines of redistribution within adult education and also in order to be prepared for the fact that new jobs and vocations demand new and higher qualifications. In this light it is also important to retain and continue to develop the Swedish concept of adult education. Thus it would be a step in the wrong direction, away from the Swedish policy and continuing goal of educational equality, if the development of adult education over the next decade was to be left to the whims of the private sector, just because there was a need for creating individual types of education and enabling them to function autonomously.

The great challenge at hand for Sweden is not necessarily to choose one of the aforementioned alternatives, but instead to strive for a constructive and positive balance between them.

Our objective should be to attempt to combine these different types - not only in order to bring us closer to the goal of educational equality based on basic human rights, but also in order to help form active and knowledgeable citizens, people with competence in their working environment and also free and creative individuals.

Concluding Comments on the Impact of the Various Alternatives on the Higher Education System

The three main alternatives can also be discussed particularly in reference to the part that universities and colleges play with respect to recurrent education and lifelong learning policies.

Support of the first alternative would mean that adult education opportunities would be broadened to a great extent at the university or college level. This must be seen in view of the fact that a majority of those at present attending colleges and universities in Sweden are in fact adult students. When choosing this first alternative one must also take into account general needs within upper-secondary education and support given to "young students" at colleges and universities. Thus, the dilemma of Swedish higher education is that added support given to adult students within higher education must be at the expense of funding afforded to younger students due to strict financial budgeting and planning.

Corporate Classrooms and Prior Experiences

The second alternative entails a closer relationship between higher education and the needs of the labor market in Sweden, e.g. corporate classrooms, based on a theory of co-operative education where representatives from both university and business interests would take part. This development is not new; there are at present many different types worth noting. One example is the in-service education at the university level for technicians and other professionals within various branches of business and industry. In this case, those taking part are offered general study programs without direct connection to any particular employer or private interest.

A further step in this direction would be to base study programs on the concept of RPL, recognition of prior learning, and devise individually oriented courses that include both general higher education sponsored training programs and courses organized by the company itself. A continued development of this kind of education would also require a more structured analysis of what is to be classified as "sponsored training" and what is to be classified as "general education" - in essence it is a question of both funding and management. Unfortunately we have not, as yet, seen fit to devise constructive solutions to these problems.

The question about funding responsibility has, though, been widely discussed. It is not only a question of the allocation of costs to be shared by the public and private sectors, but also which costs are to be borne by the state and which are to be borne by the county councils and municipalities. It is important to retain sponsored training as a pedagogical incentive and to make use of the possibilities it provides for forming individual and special study programs. Otherwise there is a risk that rules and regulations concerning sponsored training programs can be used as an excuse by the public sector for turning over the funding of these studies to the private sector. Or, alternatively, that a situation arises where those responsible for study programs shirk their financial responsibilities. A situation could arise where sponsored training might be used as an instrument for cost-cutting and financial restraint.

Research Circles and Workers' Universitites?

The third alternative, that concerning the concept of free academies, is the one which is mostly in accord with extramural traditions. However, this alternative is also the one which has the least favorable prospects. During the last decades Swedish popular education has become more oriented towards the general public. Standards within study circles have been lowered as far as form and content are concerned. Only two out of eleven adult education associations in Sweden offer studies at an academic level. University-oriented study circles have almost diappeared from the scene.

The reasons for this are twofold: both a direct shift in policy and a change in rules for government subsidies. On the other hand there is also a bright side, relating to non-academic acquisition of knowledge. Even though the concept of a "workers' university"

or labor college has never really gained any wide acceptance in Sweden, it must be pointed out that the Swedish labor movement offers a wide range of union-organized study programs and courses to its members. These study programs also include courses at university level. Another example is the co-operation between universities and labor organizations in the form of research groups. Yet another possibility of development lies in the new part played by the Swedish folk high schools in a period where almost all Swedish youth have attended high school or have some sort of upper secondary education.

This element, together with other conditions, may bring about changes in future policies and programs of Swedish folk high schools (residential schools for adults). These changes will most probably be dealt with in the coming report of a government commission concerning the future of folk high schools in Sweden.

Financial Considerations and Future Policies

The future development can also be described in terms of the question: "Who pays and who benefits?" General university studies are state-subsidized in Sweden. It does not cost a student anything to attend courses with the minor exception of a few small fees. However, a student must pay his or her own living expenses while studying. This can often entail considerable financial difficulties. On the other hand, within the area of employee training, an employer can decide who is to receive the benefits of extra studies and also when, why and where they take place. Adult educational programs cost the individual a certain amount of money, but a person does not have to take time off work in order to attend courses. Studies are on a free-time basis and are of a non-credit nature.

Without some method of subsidizing study assistance, all three of the above-mentioned alternatives will benefit people who are already well educated to a larger extent. The main difference between the alternatives is the question of educational policy.

There is no reason to offer university level studies to individuals with little education. Sweden has had a choice between giving a smaller group of workers advanced courses of study and proffering study opportunities to larger groups of individuals within the general population. It has chosen the latter alternative. The choice has also been based on the view that adult education at a university level nonetheless comprises a relatively small portion of all adult education in Sweden. This is worth noting since universities and colleges in several OECD countries play an outstanding role in adult and continuing education. In Sweden there is a large number of educational organizations and facilities (e.g. adult education associations, folk highs schools, municipal adult education, state-organized external studies, courses under the auspices of the National Labor Market Board, in-service training within various companies and labor union-organized courses) which also sometimes vie with each other to achieve a better position. A methodical effort to reach a wide portion of the public in combination with remedial strategies for neglected groups make for greater demands for adult education at a university level.

Conditions and prerequisites for recurrent education are thereby made more possible, thereby making the phrase "a learning society" more than just an idle metaphor.

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PART FIVE
APPENDICES

* Adult and Higher Education in Transition - Some Reflections on Policies, Problems and Practices
  By Kenneth Abrahamsson

* Some Statistics on Adult Studies and Recurrent Education Patterns in Swedish Post-Compulsory Education
  By Kenneth Abrahamsson

* Program

* List of Participants

ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN TRANSITION
- SOME REFLECTIONS ON POLICIES, PROBLEMS AND PRACTICES*

Discussion Paper from the Conference Secretariat
By Kenneth Abrahamsson

1. FOCUS AND BACKGROUND

The purpose of the seminar is to create a better understanding of the societal determinants and the educational impact of the increasing enrolment of adult students in higher education. By adult student we mean a person, who is embarking our institutions of higher education from working life or other positions in society and not coming directly from youth-education. By this wide definition we include early school-leavers, delayers and second chance students as well as professionals involved in more advanced forms of further education. Another assumption is that adults or mature students have collected a considerable amount of life and work experiences, that could vitalize the teaching and learning context.

Within this frame of reference, a number of questions could be raised. What is the need of theoretical up-grading and further training of adults on the labour market or in the society as a whole? Which are the main target-groups of adults? How are their needs of education transformed into a demand of a certain provision of educational opportunities suitable and relevant to adults? To what extent are our institutions of higher learning reponsive to this demand? What kind of compensatory actions are taken when adults in need of further education do not actively search for or utilize higher educational channels available in society?

In addition to these questions, there are a number of problems relating to how we could or should counteract certain institutional, instructional and maybe also dispositional barriers to adults in higher education. Among the institutional aspects we have to pay specific attention to the possibilities of educational leave of absence and study finance for adults. Another institutional variable is the general provision of higher education; viz the use of distance education or other methods. The organization of the teaching and learning situation in general and the recognition of work experience in particular are examples of instructional barriers. Finally, motives, attitudes and individual learning expectations are examples of the third category.

As the general theme indicates, the focus of the meeting will be twofold. Thus, the field of discussion includes both adult education and higher education for adults, their respective roles, clienteles, methods, provision etc. As a consequence, the focus will be both on competition and co-operation between the two sectors, Within this framework however, particular attention will be given to policies, recent developments

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* This memo is a condensed version of some guidelines for the contributors at the conference: Serving the Adult Learner: New Roles and Changing Relationships between Adult and Higher Education. It is a result of a discussion between Kenneth Abrahamsson, Kjell Rubenson and Hans G. Schütze and the ideas presented do not necessarily correspond with policies of CERI, NBUC or NBE.

and innovations concerning higher education serving non-traditional and adult groups of students.

This focus is chosen on the basis of the assumption that higher education, in addition to providing adult students with a second chance opportunity to acquire an academic degree, is assuming increasing responsibility for the provision of continuing (non-degree) courses for adults, in particular tailored to the needs of professionals who wish to, or often are obliged to, update and enlarge their professional knowledge and skills. This development is characterized by a number of innovative features in the organization and content of higher education, for instance increasing collaboration between higher education institutions or between such institutions and other non-academic bodies, such as employers, the unions and professional associations. Also, recent technological developments tend to change the mode of participation, permitting students to study at home or at the workplace rather than in a classroom setting, thus enhancing more independent learning. While these developments have an undeniable bearing on adult participation by removing or lowering traditional barriers, their influence is much broader and is likely to enlarge and modify the mission of higher education in a number of significant aspects.

The discussion is to take place in the context of work done on this topic both at OECD and in Sweden. OECD's Center for Educational Research and Innovation is just about to publish a report on Adults in Higher Education whis is based on a series of surveys from 12 countries (including Sweden, the UK, the US and Canada which have been published separately). Its focus is on the participation of adults in higher education, i.e. on policies meant to enhance such participation, barriers of various kinds which hinder such participation, examination of the various forms that adult participation takes. Special attention is paid to innovative and new forms and patterns of attendance and study.

The focus of the project is derived from the observation that adult participation has grown considerably over recent years and is not only important in quantitative terms - students enrolled, money spent, institutions involved - but also characterized by a great number of innovative responses to adult demand, such as part-time studies, refresher programmes, or distance teaching.

Sweden has been chosen both as a host and a national case study of particular interest for the conference theme (see Adult Participation in Swedish Higher Education, Abrahamsson, K., 1986). One reason for this choice is that Sweden is the only OECD country so far that has made the concept of recurrent education the central organizational principle of all post-secondary education. The 1977 reform of higher education, whose objectives and results will be discussed during the second day of the conference, applied this principle to higher education.

2. THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIVES OF ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

The field of adult and higher education is a complex and challenging area of inquiry. From a descriptive point of view, we can observe quite different ratios and patterns of adult participation in higher education in different countries. The rate of adult participation must be related to the labour market and to the demographic situation, the level of schooling and the structure of the school system, the provision of adult education outside higher education and also, to the organizational design of the respective system of higher education in different countries. Another problem relating to adult participation in higher education is the need for different levels of analysis from policy to practice. With some risk of oversimplification, three such levels can be distinguished:

a) policy level where ideological and educational conceptions about adult and higher education are expressed and codified into concepts as

recurrent education, lifelong learning or permanent education,

b) organizational structure of higher education with special reference both to integrated or binary systems of adult and higher education, to extramural higher education such as distance education or an extended degree, and to other institutional net-works and programme designs supporting adult participation.

c) The "inner life" of our institutions for adult and higher learning i.e. the educational context for adults which includes both attitudes among faculty, 'knowledge-climate' and teaching methods together with students motivation and experiences. In addition to this, it is also necessary to analyse the impact on the students themselves.

Taking the Swedish higher education reform as an example it is apparent that there still is - ten years after the implementation of the reform - a lack of systematic and empirical evidence on the effect of the reform at the teaching and learning level. One of the objectives of the seminar is, therefore, to shed light on how the increasing participation of adults in higher education tends to change teaching and learning styles as well as the academic culture as such. To what extent do university teachers take the experiental background of adult students into consideration? And, what is the current state of knowledge about the "academic" value of work and life experience? Which limitations to the "good recognition" of experience is defined by the specific character of subject content and programme structure? And further: what could be the impact of the so-called 'adultification' of higher education on different institutional levels as short-cycle courses, degree-programmes, graduate and post-graduate studies?

3. ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN A CHANGING CONTEXT - A GENERAL BACKGROUND

The Need for Recurrent Education in the Process of Technological and Social Change

In order to give a conceptual frame of reference for the seminar we have to take structural changes in society and the labour market into consideration. Thus, it is necessary to reflect on the changing knowledge, attitude and skill requirements; i.e. the development of a new qualification structure in society. Corporate strategies constitute another important field; to what extent are the firms and fabrics relying on the external labour market vs maintaining, upgrading, recycling human resources in the internal labour market? What kind of balance is made between enterprise specific skills vs more general transferable skills and knowledge? The role of motivation, identification and job experience of workers is another important field. Training and human resources development as a systematic and long-term investment vs induced by changes in the production process.

Examples of further problems or issues in this field are: The need for management and social skills (system analysis, communication, problem solving).

* The older worker and new techniques; can old dogs learn new tricks?

* Union strategies; participation of workers or their representatives in the decision about what kind of training, when, and for whom?

* The interplay between training/retraining categories in line with occupational categories?

* The problem of human resources development in small and medium-size firms.

Finally, we have to ask which, in the view of management, are the main impediments to a new training approach? How are human resources strategies implemented at the enterprise level?

Adult Demand and the Educational Response - Policy Planning or Market Approach

How is demand from adults perceived and measured? Who is perceiving and responding (bureaucrats, educational institutions, for-profit outfits, others, nobody)? Are willingness or ability to pay indicators of the seriousness of demand?

Individual demand vs perceived labour market skill requirements. Another important aspect concerns the capacity of higher education to meet regional needs and also counteract geographical barriers. Institutional response: what does this mean for curricula, out-reach programmes, forms of participation? Separate (but equal?) provision vs integrated provision.

The assessment and recognition of adult demand plays a crucial role in the policy process, which is illustrated by the questions below:

* Market and demand and market supply: the consequences for equality, systematic human resources development, the long-term development.

* What kind of educational concepts or structures should be developed in order to meet the long-term needs of the labour market - generalists vs specialists, instrumentalists vs liberally educated citizens, full degree programmes or a set of separate courses?

* In what ways will our common educational structure be able to cope with future knowledge needs? Is the educational organization flexible enough and innovative in relation to the changing needs of the labor market and society as a whole?

* Who or what kind of agent (or interest) should define matters such as content of the curriculum or the most constructive educational context for adult learners in higher education.

* Should universities respond to adult demand or should that be taken care of by special (second-rate) institutions like community colleges?

Adults in Higher Education: Old Hat or New Mission

In order to increase our capacity to meet adult demands in the future it appears necessary to describe and evaluate institutional frames of adult and higher education. Thus, we have to compare trends in North-America, Asia, Australia and Europe with respect to adult participation in higher education. Such comparisons aim at providing a better picture of how responsive higher education is to the needs of new groups of learners. The educatonal responsiveness is reflected at a number of levels: at the institutional level of higher education, at the level of programme or curriculum and finally in the teaching and learning situation.

How do the Open Door policies of our systems of higher education influence attitudes and working climates of faculty, the choice of subject content and educational design in general? It is not only the question of how "open" higher education can be, but also of how to specify the necessary subject requirement of new learners. And also, what kind of compensatory strategies or retention measures could be developed in relation to certain groups of high priority? New institutions such as community colleges and "Universities without Walls"-experiments are, of course, of central importance in this respect. But what is happening at traditional research-oriented universities? And how do measures within the system of higher education relate to the development of adult education in general (competition? separate clientele and separate provision? co-operative schemes?).

Taking the North-American experiences as an example it seems fruitful to focus on the "hidden" transformation of higher education by an increasing provision of post-secondary education for adults, a transformation more in response to an increasing demand than as the result of any federal or state-initiated planning. It is important to illuminate the consequences of this transformation: How does it effect programme structures, knowledge content, the process of delivery, the quest for "excellence", the self-understanding of the research universities, faculty attitudes etc? To what extent is "serving the adult learners" part of the traditional mission of US higher education to serve the Community at large? And what about corporate universities and new patterns of "invisible"colleges?

Another aspect of these new net-works are new forms of distributing higher education. Objectives, methods and experiences of the most recent effort to provide educational opportunities for new learners by setting up a new distance university has to be mentioned. What are the specific obstacles lowered or abolished, which new ones have been erected? For example, how much has the Dutch Open University influenced open or closed door policies of other institutions of higher education in the Netherlands? What are, the specific experiences with regard to learning contexts and quality of distance methods?

What do we know about the connections between higher education and adult education at institutional levels. Can we find interesting examples of joint projects in relation to different programmes, methods and groups of students? How can we describe a map of learning net-works and study centers organized closely to the living and working settings of adult learners? More generally, do we see adult education and higher education as a part of a learning society? If so, what role will ideas of self-initiated learning, everyday learning and, of course, work-related learning play in this context. In addition to that, examples of collaboration between universities and trade unions are an interesting aspect of the extramural tradition.

Finally, it is necessary to clarify the key-concepts needed to best describe and analyse the current development in this field; i.e.

* The consequences of Lifelong Learning and Recurrent (Higher) Education: from the ivory tower to "massificaton", from mass higher education to "adultification".

* The "missions" of higher education in a time perspective.

* Serving science or serving the community: from Humbholdt to the community college.

* (Higher) education and work (for scientific personnel and highly qualified manpower).

* The maintenance of scientific knowledge and professional skills in the age of knowledge expolosion.

* The hierarchy of adult education: how much "higher" is (should be) higher education?

4. ADULT (HIGHER) EDUCATION AND LEARNING IN SWEDEN: POLICIES AND PRACTICE

Another objective of the seminar is to illuminate the intentions, results and experiences of the Swedish reforms in adult and higher education.

Recurrent Education in Sweden -Objectives, Instruments and Outcomes

Examples of sub-themes are:

Reconceptualizing recurrent education - Swedish experiences. The "new" educational gap and the idea of a knowledge society. Towards a new qualification structure in society. Upper secondary school in transition - current Swedish reform strategies. Adult and higher

education in transition. Recurent education - from formal structures to invisible net-works. Recurrent education and individual study patterns - some methodological comments. Recurrent education or/and a learning society.

Two main parts of the reforms of adult education in Sweden are the law on educational leave of absence and a specific programme of study finance. Studies of the outcome of these reforms will be presented as well as research projects with specific reference to equality of opportunity, for young students and for adult students, within the broader context of post-compulsory education.

Evaluating the Swedish Reform of Higher Education - Some Current Approaches

Undoubtdely, the reform has strongly contributed to the increasing numbers of adults in Swedish higher education. In fact, a number of decisions have been taken in the Swedish parliament (Riksdagen) in order to strengthen the situation of young students (in general, one can say that students below 25 years of age are a minority in Swedish higher education). Examples of such policy measures are: more "student-places" for young students, less value given to work experience, or the introduction of certain tests in order to assess the value of municipal adult education.

In spite of all these measures, it is interesting to analyse to what extent teachers in Swedish higher education have met the specific needs of adult students - and how these attitudes vary between different subjects and study programmes. Another aspect is related to the extent teachers try to recognize, value and build on the life and work experience of adult students. Furthermore, it is interesting to discuss to what extent the increasing participation of adults has changed research and learning climates and student life in Swedish higher education.

Another approach is to describe the implementation process as seen from the perspective of a regional college of higher education. In fact, these colleges were set up as a consequence of the reform. A specific kind of cross-pressure is developed between regional demand, faculty interests and the influence of the larger research universities. The regional aspects of aspects of higher education is today a central policy issue because the government has proposed that the regional boards will be abolished.

The Reforms of Adult and Higher Education in the Context of Current Policies

It is important to evaluate the reforms of both adult and higher education in the mirror of current policies and future problems. The reforms started at a low level in the end of the sixties, were implemented in the seventies in a new and more restricted financial climate. To what extent have these reforms worked in the direction of the general objectives? What kind of obstacles - beside shortage on the financial side - have been in function? And, finally, what kind of new problems that were not met by the reform process have been articulated during the last years?

5. SERVING THE ADULT LEARNER: IN THE FUTURE - A QUESTION OF VALUES OR FACTS?

Adult Education Participation: Reflected by Progressive or Traditional Values?

Another purpose of the seminar is to look ahead and analyse the political and pragmatic conditions of increased involvement of adults in higher education. In general, one could say that changes in the knowledge definition in systems of higher education are surrounded by progressive and traditional values and interests. "The progressivists" tend to be divided into two subgroups; i.e. 'instrumentalists' or 'distributers' on the one hand and the

'experientalists' on the other. The common mission of the instrumentalists is to develop new forms of distributing higher education. The most well known example is of course the Open University in the UK. The experientalists on the other hand stress the genuine knowledge value of the adult learner's life and work experience. Many experientalists argue for the vitalization effect of an increasing involvement of experiential knowledge in the academic life. They also argue for new teaching methods and the role of group and project working methods.

The traditionalists, on the other hand, underline the crucial role of research and teaching of our universities. The increasing involvement of adults in traditional higher education, would according to their views, change standards and dilute the knowledge climate within higher education. Traditionalists, therefore, are against integrated organizational structures in higher education. Adult demand should be met in parallel organizational structures such as Open Universities, extramural courses or in other forms of non-credit higher education. Thus, the traditionalists tend to be in favour of separated forms of higher education on the organizational level. On the teaching-learning level they see the curriculum ideals, subject content and specific academic context as a point of departure rather than the needs and social conditions of adult students.

To sum up: looking ahead and beyond the year 2000 one cannot only be progressively or traditionally oriented in relation to the transformation of adult higher education. It is necessary to go back to some of the philosophical views and foundations of higher education: e.g. different notions of higher learning and questions of balance between different knowledge perspectives (e.g. liberal education vs vocational orientation, specialization vs generalization and broader knowledge perspectives, research and graduate education vs undergraduate programmes and service to new groups, degree programmes vs short-cycle higher education etc.). We also need better empirical documentation on the extent to which educational ideas oriented towards adult students have influenced the daily functioning of higher education.

Issues for Further Policy Analysis and Research

Let me finally raise three themes or questions for further policy analysis:

1. Which policy conclusions could be drawn from comparative studies of different organizational and structural patterns of adult and higher education? How could the Swedish integrated model be compared with a binary or divided model as the British one, or with a more pluralistic system as provided by North-American experiences? What criteria should be developed in order to analyse effectively the connections between the admission system (selection, assessment and guidance), educational design, and the curriculum?

2. Is there any international consensus with respect to the issue of homogenous or heterogenous groups of students relating to age, subject knowledge, study skills and motivation? What are the pros and cons of age-mixed groups? What conditions have to be present in order to create an effective experiential sharing? Which are the differences in experiential sharing between various subject fields? Which are the differences in experience utilization in shorter courses and in degree programmes?

3. Is there a specific pedagogy (andragogy) for adult students in higher education? If so, what are the specific characteristics of that pedagogy? And, if so, what are the main differences in relation to current methods of teaching and learning applied for young students? What do we know about learning strategies and teaching-expectations of adult

students? Do adults expect a certain treatment or do they want to be seen as higher education students in general?

...
and also seven issues of further conceptual, and empirical inquiry:

a) the need for a deeper analyses of the pros and cons in a broader policy perspective on different organizational strategies to meet the needs of an expanded adult and higher education

b) the need for an illumination of the "grey zone" between formal and non-formal adult and higher education with special references to the expansion of staff-development programmes and in-service training within the public sector and industry and commerce. Such a strategy should pay special attention to the balance and influence of different source of finance

c) the need for reform-evaluation at the level of the basic units in higher education: i.e. studies that focus on the extent teachers in higher education have/have not internalized ideals of the reform of higher education, such as changes in attitudes or values;

d) the need for further studies of the outcomes of mixed groups on adult and higher education, as well as further research on adult students' motivations, aspirational level, self-confidence and other kinds of dispositional variables;

e) the need for more elaborated methods of assessment where study skill, subject knowledge, life and work experiences and other background factors are concerned, as well as cognitive approaches to learning-strategies and information processing by adult students

f) the need for development and evaluation of new forms of distributing higher education to the working population; e.g. the combination of distance methods and self-initiated learning projects;

g) the need for more elaborated models of the role of education in life-career patterns as well as a better combination of quantitative and qualitative strategies of life-span development studies (taking both longitudinal studies and deep-level interviews and individual life-stories into consideration) with special reference to social, geographical and financial barriers.

The future development of adult and higher education is not a question of values or facts. Rather, the challenge lies in good combinations of values and facts related to the specific context of different countries. The definition of the problem also differs between low-level and high-level countries where participation of adults in higher education is concerned. Bearing this in mind, it is my expectation - and hopefully also the other members' of the organizing committee - that our seminar will shed light on future options and new roads of adult and higher education. In this respect, it might be a more constructive way to make a good combination to old and new ideas and methods and not a bad mixture of the most recent and popular trends. Thereby, we might create a vital interaction between tradition and renewal on the one hand and academic reflection and life experience on the other.

SOME STATISTICS ON ADULT STUDIES AND RECURRENT EDUCATION PATTERNS IN SWEDISH POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION

By Kenneth Abrahamsson

Recent statistics on the adultification of higher education were presented in the paper "Adultification reconsidered-...." at the seminar Serving the Adult Learner". The general level of educational participation in Sweden by course, organizer and age, in 1980, is presented in Abrahamsson (1986, p. 49). In summary form, these estimates are reproduced in Table 1 below. More accurate figures on educational participation in Sweden was presented on page 138, the final chapter.

Table 1. Level of Educational Participation in Sweden by Course, Organizer and Age, in 1980.

Source *SCB (1983)*

Organizer	16-24	25-44	45-64	65-74	Sum
Study association	141	201	158	119	166
Correspondence inst.	2	3	2	1	2
Employers	49	132	93	2	89
Trade unions	25	44	30	2	89
Labour market board	22	22	10	4	16
Radio & TV	-	1	1	-	1
Folk high school	4	3	-	1	2
Mun. adult education	19	33	10	6	20
State adult educ.	2	3	1	-	2
Compulsory school	131	1	-	-	22
Upper sec. school	181	6	1	-	33
Higher education	44	40	8	4	26
Other	94	63	35	26	55
Total activity	575	448	304	155	385
Non-students	425	552	696	845	615
Total sum	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

In addition to these estimates we will try to give short answers to the following questions:

1. What percentage of the adult population is engaged in an educational activity during one year?
2. What is the retention rate from upper secondary schooling to higher education?
3. What differences in retention rates are found between educational and vocational programs?
4. What is the retention rate from municipal adult education to higher education?
5. How could the present expansion of staff-development programs and in-service training be described?
6. Which international trends on the policy-balance between youth education and adult education are of interest in this context?

ANSWERS IN BRIEF...

1. Approximately 38,5 per cent in 1980; that is two adults in every five. More than 50 per cent in 1986.

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2. The percentage of students at upper secondary school level (both theoretical and vocational lines; mainly programs of two years' duration), enroled in higher education after up to three years after examination is:

Year of final examination at upper secondary level	Per cent of enrolment in higher education within three years
1980/81	20,3 %
1981/82	19,4 %
1982/83	20,7 %

Thus, one out of five students from the upper secondary school continues to higher education within three years of completion. Female students express more interest in further educational careers than male students do over the three years compared. There is also a striking difference between three years "programs" and (mainly two-years vocational programs.

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3. In general, the retention rate could be summarized across three types of programs and over a three year period as follows:

Final examination at upper secondary level/year	3-4 years' "academic program"	2 years' educ. program	2 years' vocational program
1980/81	44,8%	17,2%	6,0%
1981/82	43,5%	18,3%	6,3%
1982/83	42,7%	15,3%	7,1%

There is also a significant variation between different study programs both within and between these categories. For example, the transition rate is around 70 per cent in science, while it is below 4 per cent in 12 of the 16 vocationally oriented two-year's programs.

Most adult students from these two-years' vocational programs, need further studies in municipal adult education if they want to continue studying at the regular system of higher education.

SOURCES:

SCB Bakgrundsmaterial om högskolan. Övergång gymnasieskola-högskola, tabell 601, 1985:5, 1986:2, 1987 (in press).

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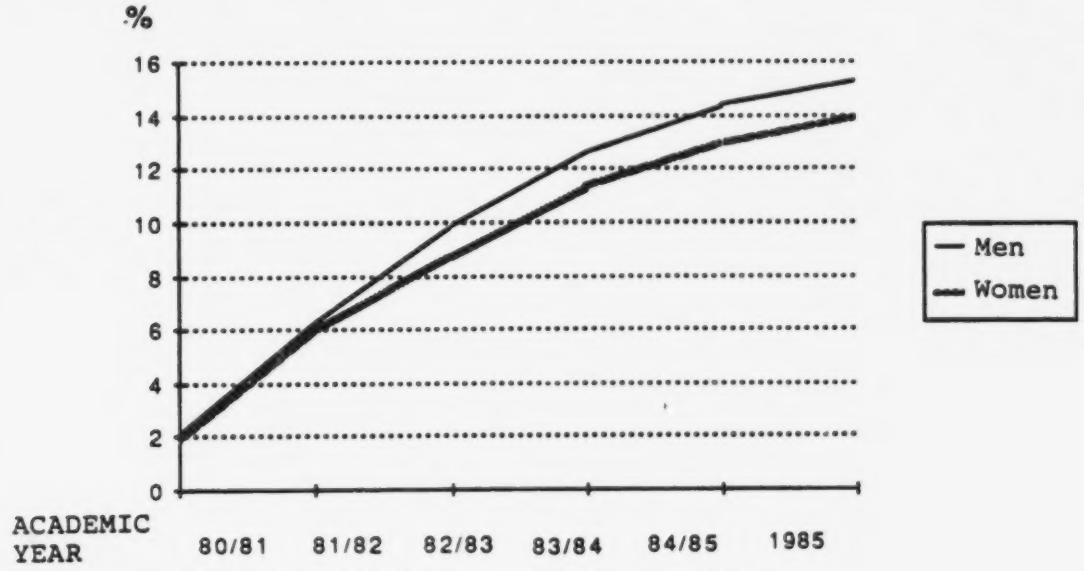
4. An interesting observation is that out of 67.300 newcomers in KOMVUX (municipal adult education) 7.000 had taken higher education prior to KOMVUX and 3.100 were registered at at higher education level in the period between 1977 and 1980.

Within 5 years, 8.600 of those without prior higher education experience had embarked on studies at the higher education level.

The percentage of KOMVUX newcomers who continued to higher education within five years is:

Accumulated percentage of new komvux-students who, in the fall of 1980, enroled in higher education within 5 years of course completion.



SOURCES: SCB/Statistics Sweden: Work in progress.

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5. Recent Swedish statistics show a rapid expansion of staff-development programmes and in-service training activities. Approximately 28 per cent of the labour force is involved in some kind of in-service training program. State employees have the highest rate of in-service training participation, then come employees at county or municipal level, followed by employees of "free" enterprises. There is also a substantial regional variation in in-service training participation (from 36 per cent to 21 per cent). This non-formal system of adult education tends to be the most broadly distributed form of adult education. It almost exceeds the study circles in number of participants. In-service training programs are not supportive of the idea of equality of opportunity. On the contrary; it seems as whether the principle: "the more you have, the more you will get", applies here as well. Well- educated employees have as three to four times as high participation rate as undereducated or uneducated employees. In conclusion, it needs to be stressed that much more information on the role of in-service training programs within a system of recurrent education is needed.

6. Finally, it seems relevant to show a table from a recent article by Reuterswärd (1987) giving an OECD perspective on the number of students embarking in higher education in different countries.

PATTERNS OF POST-COMPULSORY YOUTH EDUCATION AROUND 1984[a]

	Enrolment of 17 years olds %					Youth obtaining credentials for entry into higher education %	Entrants into higher education %		Persons taking post-secondary degrees %	
	School education		Apprenticeship part-time, etc.	Post-secondary, etc.	Total	Universities	Universities	Other	'Bachelors'	Lower
	General	Vocational								
Germany	32	18	46	1	97	28	17	9	12	8
Japan	63	27	0	0	90	92	26	12	24	11
United States	81	0	n.a.	6	88	73	28	34	24	34
Netherlands	35	41	10	0	86	50	10	24	6	18
Belgium	78	0	8	0	86	20	12	20	15	n.a.
Sweden	32	51	2	0	85	77	36	0	15	15
Switzerland	20	7	55	0	82	14	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Austria	14	20	44	0	78	13	17	n.a.	16	n.a.
Canada	67	0	n.a.	9	76	75	n.a.	n.a.	23	13
France	25	38	10	2	75	29	18	12	13	12
Norway	38	36	1	0	75	70	18	n.a.	18	42
Denmark	35	33	6	0	74	25	22	13	14	11
Italy	22	25	23	0	70	51	27	1	11	1
Australia	37	0	20	9	66	43	31	17	16	6
United Kingdom	18	12	35	0	65	37	31	0	15	12
Spain	34	15	n.a.	0	49	25	17	12	8	6
New Zealand	34	11	0	1	46	n.a.	15	9	11	4
Portugal	38	0	3	0	41	19	12	2	n.a.	n.a.

a. Countries are ranked in order of total enrolment at 17. Enrolments and percentages in this table are estimates compared to total population in relevant age groups.

Note: Caution should be exercises when comparing figures both between and within countries as data come from different sources; for details, see report.

Source: OECD Educational Data Bank and national statistical publications and the OECD-Observer 149:22-24.

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PROGRAM FOR THE SEMINAR "SERVING THE ADULT LEARNER", STOCKHOLM MAY 20-22, 1988.

FIRST DAY: May 20th	FROM ADULT DEMAND TO POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES
9.00 a.m.	Registration and coffee
9.30	Opening of the conference and welcome address on behalf of the Swedish organizers and CERI: Mr. Erland Ringborg, Director General, National Swedish Board of Education and Mr. Jarl Bengtsson, Counsellor, CERI
10.00	Keynote Address No. 1: The Need for Recurrent Learning in the Process of Social and Technological Change Dr. Øyvind Skard, Chairman of the Norwegian Commission on Life-long Learning
11.00	Keynote Address No. 2: Adult Demand and the Educational Response - Policy Planning or Market Approach? Professor Urban Dahllöf, University of Uppsala, Sweden Questions and comments
12.00	Lunch
13.15 p.m.	TOPIC A: Traditional Tasks and New Roles of Adult and Higher Education - Reflections on the US situation. Professor K. Patricia Cross, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts TOPIC B: Traditional Tasks and New Roles of Adult and Higher Education - Reflections on the situation in the UK and Australia Professor Chris Duke, University of Warwick. England Questions and comments
15.00	Coffee and refreshments
15.30	Adults in Higher Education: Old Hat or New Mission? Summary and Conclusions by Dr. Hans G. Schütze, former head of CERI-project and presently OECD-consultant at CERI/OECD
16.00-16.30	General discussion

17.00	Boat MS/Ballerina to the center of Stockholm
18.30	Reception and buffet dinner at the City Hall
20.00	Self-learning activities at your own choice

SECOND DAY: ADULT (HIGHER) EDUCATION AND LEARNING IN SWEDEN:
May 21 st

9.00 a.m.	TOPIC A: Recurrent Education in Sweden - Obsolete Policy Concept or Guideline for the Future? Professor Kjell Rubenson, University of Linköping, Sweden/U.B.C., Canada and Dr. Mats Myrberg, Research Secretary, Swedish National Board of Education TOPIC B: Study Support Programmes for Adult Students in Sweden - Ten Years of Experiences Professor Allan Svensson and Olof Lundqvist, Research Assistant, University of Gothenburg, Sweden Questions and comments
10.15	Coffee and refreshments
10.45	TOPIC C: Women's Life Stories - An Alternative Form of Recurrent Education? Dr. Inga Elgqvist-Saltzman, Associate Professor, University of Umeå, Sweden TOPIC D: Academic Teachers' Attitudes Towards Adult Students: Risk-Students or Research-Students? Dr. Mona Bessman, Educational Consultant, University of Stockholm, Sweden and Dr. Kenneth Abrahamsson, Research Secretary, Swedish National Board of Education
12.00	Lunch
13.00 p.m.	TOPIC E: Evaluating the Reform of Higher Education in a Regional Context - The View from a Rector's Desk: Dr. Ola Román, Rector of Sundsvall College of Higher Education, Sweden TOPIC F: The Reforms of Adult and Higher Education in the context of Current Policies: Mr. Sverker Gustavsson, Under-Secretary of State, Swedish Ministry of Education
14.00	Comments and questions from a panel of experts chaired by Mr. Erland Ringborg, Director General, NBE

15.00	Coffee and refreshments
15.30-17.00	Continuation of panel and general discussion
18.30	Reception in the castle
19.00	Dinner given by the Swedish Ministry of Education at Hässelby Slott Host, Mr. Sverker Gustavsson, Under-Secretary of State Swedish folksongs from 18th Century by Peter Ekberg Pelz

THIRD DAY: May 22nd	SERVING THE ADULT LEARNER: NEW ROLES, NEW FORMS, NEW RELATIONSHIPS OF ADULT AND HIGHER EDUCATION
9.00 a.m.	TOPIC A: New Groups, New Mission and a "New" Concept of Knowledge. The Hidden Transformation of American Higher Education. Professor Martin Trow, University of California, Berkeley, USA Question and comments
10.00	Coffee and refreshments
10.30	TOPIC B: Distance Provisions for Adult Learners: the Use of Old and New Technologies and Techniques. Dr. G. Leibbrandt, Open University, the Netherlands TOPIC C: Regional Net-works and Co-operation to Serve the Adult Learner. Professor Glenn Farell, Open Learning Authority, Vancouver, Canada Questions and comments
12.00	Luch
13.00 p.m.	POLICY OPTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS Summary by the General Rapporteur, professor Kjell Rubenson, University of Linköping, Sweden/U.B.C., Canada
13.30	New Tasks for Higher Education: How Demanding is Adult Demand and How High is Higher Education Panel Discussion
15.00	Coffee and refreshments

15.30	Missing Groups and Future Mission - Comments on Future Research Needs and Reform Strategies and International Net-works on Adult and Higher Education
	General discussion
16.00	Closing of Conference

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS (in alphabetic order)

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The right to choose a certain line of study should not be restricted to a short period in a person's life when he or she is young; it should not be something that one is able to decide once and then never again. This right should also be able to be exercised at later periods when a person gets older and becomes aware of what he or she wants out of life and the new possibilities provided by both society and the labor market in general. If this concept is applied to the whole educational system, in all areas and at all levels, then great strides can be made. The right to choose a line of study when one is young becomes also the right to choose a certain line of work when one gets older — and from a broader point of view this idea reflects a new concept of the role played by schools in modern society.

Olof Palme in 1964

The above qoute from Olof Palme, former Prime Minister of Sweden, summarizes the essence of this report. At the end of the sixties, Olof Palme, coined the notion of recurrent education at an OECD-meeting in Paris. The report reflects two decades of Swedish reforms and implementation of this idea. It also raises some issues on the future development of adult and higher education in Sweden. The report has been edited by Dr. Kenneth Abrahamsson, research secretary at the Swedish National Board of Education.

R 88:8

REPORTS —
PLANNING, FOLLOW-UP, EVALUTION

SWEDISH NATIONAL